ER
PN
1700
A39

44

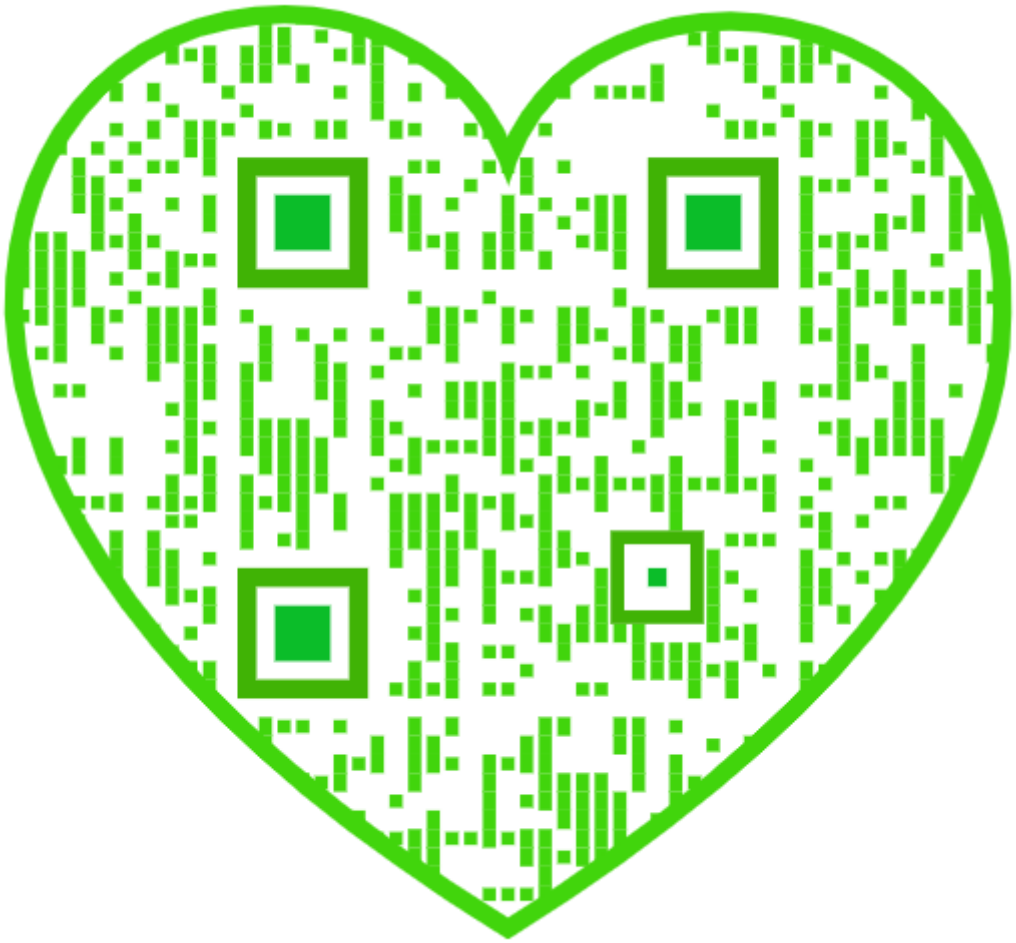
AMERICAN JOURNALISM

BYU Library
OCT 28 2000

WINTER 1991

Published by the American Journalism Historians Association

K3



AMERICAN JOURNALISM

WINTER 1991

DEPARTMENTS

•4•

RESEARCH NOTES

News and the Search for the Present

The First Question-Answer Newspaper Interview, Redux

•62•

BOOK REVIEWS

Review Essay: Photojournalism and the Historians

Pundits, Poets, and Wits

Mark Twain's Letters

The House the Berrys Built

Freedom under Fire

Art for The Masses

The Autobiography of William Allen White

Communication Satellites

American Mass-Market Magazines

and more . . .

ARTICLES

- The Search for Strategic Silence
  How Journalism Historians Can Learn to Read What the Press Does Not Print.
  Richard Lentz 10

- Visual Silences
  What Photography Chooses Not to Show Us.
  Kent Brecheen-Kirkton 27

- Ellipsis and Eclipse As Indicators of Bias
  A Case Study of How the *Miami Herald* Covers Cuban Issues.
  Fran R. Matera 35

- Interview
  The End of an Era at CBS
  Bill Leonard Talks about the Making and Unmaking of CBS Television News.
  Michael D. Murray 48

EDITOR
John J. Pauly
Tulsa
ASSOCIATE EDITORS
Pamela A. Brown
Rider College
Richard Lentz
Arizona State
BOOK REVIEW EDITOR
Nancy Roberts
Minnesota
DESIGN
Sharon M.W. Bass
Kansas
ADVERTISING
Alf Pratte
Brigham Young
ASSISTANT EDITOR
Barbara Buckley
Tulsa
FORMER EDITORS
Wm. David Sloan
Alabama
Gary Whitby
Spring Hill College

—

AMERICAN JOURNALISM HISTORIANS ASSOCIATION

PRESIDENT
Leonard Teel
Georgia State
VICE-PRESIDENT
Nancy Roberts
Minnesota
SECRETARY
Donald Avery
Southern Mississippi
BOARD OF DIRECTORS
Perry Ashley
South Carolina
Roy Atwood
Idaho
Sherilyn Bennion
Humboldt State
Elaine Prostak Berland
Webster
Edward Caudill
Tennessee
Carol Sue Humphrey
Oklahoma Baptist
Alf Pratte
Brigham Young
Barbara Straus Reed
Rutgers
James Startt
Valparaiso

EDITORIAL PURPOSE. *American Journalism* publishes articles, research notes, book reviews, and correspondence dealing with the history of journalism. Such contributions may focus on social, economic, intellectual, political, or legal issues. *American Journalism* also welcomes articles that treat the history of communication in general; the history of broadcasting, advertising, and public relations; the history of media outside the United States; and theoretical issues in the literature or methods of media history.

SUBMISSIONS. All articles, research notes, and correspondence should be sent to Professor John Pauly, Editor, *American Journalism*, Faculty of Communication, University of Tulsa, 600 S. College Avenue, Tulsa, Oklahoma 74104. Authors should send four copies of manuscripts submitted for publication as articles. *American Journalism* follows the style requirements of *The Chicago Manual of Style*. The maximum length for most manuscripts is twenty-five pages, not including notes and tables.

All submissions are blind refereed by three readers, and the review process typically takes about three months. Manuscripts will be returned only if the author has included a self-addressed stamped envelope.

Research notes are typically three- to six-page manuscripts, written without formal documentation. Such notes, which are not blind refereed, may include reports of research in progress, discussions of methodology, annotations on new archival sources, commentaries on issues in journalism history, or suggestions for future research. Authors who wish to contribute research notes are invited to query the editor.

Anyone who wishes to review books for *American Journalism*, or to propose a book for review, should contact Professor Nancy Roberts, Book Review Editor, *American Journalism*, School of Journalism and Mass Communication, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455.

American Journalism is produced on a Macintosh computer, using Microsoft Word and Pagemaker software. Authors of manuscripts accepted for publication are encouraged, but not required, to submit their work on a DOS-based or Macintosh disk.

ADVERTISING. Information on advertising rates and placements is available from Professor Alf Pratte, Advertising Manager, *American Journalism*, Department of Communications, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah 84602.

SUBSCRIPTIONS. *American Journalism* (ISSN 0882-1127) is published quarterly by the American Journalism Historians Association, at the University of Tulsa. Subscriptions to *American Journalism* cost $25 a year, $10 for students, and include a one-year membership in AJHA. Subscriptions mailed outside the United States cost $25 for surface mail, $30 for air mail. For further information, please contact the Editor.

COPYRIGHT. © American Journalism Historians Association, 1991. Articles in *American Journalism* may be photocopied for fair use in teaching, research, criticism, and news reporting, in accordance with Sections 107 and 108 of the U.S. Copyright Law. For all other purposes, users must obtain permission from the Editor.

REFEREES. Thanks to the following editorial board members, who have recently read manuscripts for *American Journalism.*

Craig Allen
Arizona State
Gerald Baldasty
Washington
Eleanor Blum
Urbana, Illinois
Ed Caudill
Tennessee
Thomas Connery
St. Thomas
Harold Davis
Atlanta, Georgia
John DeMott
Memphis State
Edward Dreyer
Tulsa
Ralph Engelman
Long Island
Donald Fishman
Boston College
Jean Folkerts
George Washington
Ted Glasser
Stanford
Art Kaul
Southern Mississippi
Lauren Kessler
Oregon
Peggy Kreshel
Georgia
Linda Lawson
Indiana
Greg Lisby
Georgia State
Jack Lule
Lehigh
William Matsen
Bemidji State
Edward Nickerson
Delaware
Darwin Payne
Southern Methodist
Sam Riley
Virginia Tech
Nancy Roberts
Minnesota
Norman Sims
Massachusetts
Mitchell Stephens
New York
Harold Stensaas
Mankato State
Betty Winfield
Missouri

FROM THE EDITOR •

I ONCE HEARD HUGH Kenner speak eloquently of the spaces in James Joyce's novels. Not the physical or geographic or psychic spaces, but simply the spaces (or lack of them) between Joyce's words. In early Western manuscripts, Kenner reminded the audience, one word typically ran into the next, in imitation of the endless, copious flow of speech. Printers, however, inserted spaces between the words, in order to visualize speech for their audience. Centuries later, Kenner said, after spacing had long since become routine, Joyce deliberately removed the spaces, thereby calling attention to the gaps printers had inserted, and recreating his own literary analogue of the oral tradition.

In a sense, all the modern media of communication have followed the printers' lead. By industrializing cultural production, the media fill the traditional silences enforced by censorship, primitive equipment, and the scarcity of professional communicators. Mass media create a surfeit of reality, a "jabbering real," in Michel de Certeau's phrase, in which we struggle against information overload rather than scarcity.

But mass media also create new forms of silence. Indeed, silence has become the very totem of social and political power. In a world awash in information, silence implicitly identifies who is allowed to speak and who is not, as well as what it is possible to say.

As Richard Lentz, Kent Brecheen-Kirkton, and Fran Matera argue in this issue, journalism's silence may even be strategic, a calculated voicelessness on the part of those most accustomed to hearing themselves speak. These new strategic silences pose special problems of interpretation for historians. How, after all, do we learn to hear what somebody decided not to say?

The authors offer no easy answers to that question, but they do begin to describe the politics of silence that governs any society that devotes itself to "information." Like Joyce, the authors see the spaces that were there all along but that the rest of us have learned to ignore.

–J.P.

NEWS AND THE SEARCH FOR THE PRESENT

WINS, AN ALL-NEWS station in New York, puts it this way,"You give us twenty-two minutes; we'll give you the world." Or as a chorus hired by *Time* used to sing in TV ads:

Throughout your world
Throughout your land
Time puts it all
Right in your hand . . .

As a product to be marketed, the news resembles Raymond Williams's description of advertising as a "magic system." For the promise of the news-as-product is to deliver the world magically, the way a shampoo delivers a new boyfriend. In "twenty-two minutes" the world shall arrive, placed "right in your hand" by the news.

These slogans may seem like harmless advertising ploys, but they describe quite well an experience that modern journalism offers us: a simulated feeling of co-presence with the world. My task in this short essay is to suggest how the news can have an opposite function. Rather than "bringing" us the world, the news brings word that the world is something to be sought, in our individual ways.

At the close of his little book *Individualism Old and New*, John Dewey observes that, to achieve true individuality, "each of us needs to cultivate his own garden." But no fence encloses this garden; it is not a "sharply marked-off" space. "Our garden is the world, in the angle at which it touches our own manner of being," Dewey writes. By accepting that we find ourselves in the "corporate and industrial world," we "who are also parts of the moving present, create ourselves as we create an unknown future." With this thought the book concludes.

My interest is in the notion of an "angle" at which, according to Dewey, the world touches each of us, creating the field in which we might cultivate a self. The Mexican poet Octavio Paz has considered news in this light. In his 1990 Nobel lecture, "In Search of the Present," he tells of an early encounter with the news, which had the effect of announcing the existence of the world to a child who had constructed his own enclosed universe.

Paz recalls his "old dilapidated house" in Mexico City, which had a "jungle-like garden and a great room full of books." The garden ("a temple of vegetation") became the center of the young child's existence, the library "an enchanted cave." Together, garden and library created a realm of "pure presence," in which time and space could be endlessly re-arranged. "The world was limitless, yet it was always within reach," Paz writes. "The beyond was here, all was here; a valley, a mountain, a distant country, the neighbor's patio." Picture books supplied images of distant lands and heroic battles, all vividly present to the child: "In the summer the green branches of the fig trees would sway like the sails of a caravel or pirate ship. High up on the mast, swept by the wind, I could make out islands and continents, lands that vanished as soon as they became tangible."

The spell was broken when an older child gave Paz a photograph from a news magazine, showing soldiers marching along a broad avenue, most likely in New York. "They've returned from the war," Paz remembers being told. He recalls how this handful of words disturbed him greatly, implanting the knowledge "that somewhere far away a war had ended," and " that the soldiers were marching to celebrate their victory." This war was strangely unavailable; it had taken place "in another place and in another time, not here and now." By upsetting the temporal and spatial dimensions of his childhood, the photograph, says Paz, refuted him. He felt "literally dislodged from the present," expelled from his garden.

Time began to fracture, a

"plurality of spaces" appeared as again and again some item of news, or a headline he noticed, proved the existence of this other world. In his daily experience there was now a beyond that was beyond his garden's beyond, and this forced on Paz the uncomfortable feeling that he did not inhabit the present. "Real time," the "time of the real present" was obviously elsewhere. "I accepted the inevitable," Paz writes. Through his "expulsion from the present" at the hands of the news, he began his adult life.

I have dwelt on this story because it describes with unusual clarity how the news can become the "angle" at which the world "touches our manner of being," to quote Dewey again. Items from the news often have this power because they seem to arrive from the real present. What makes the news seem "real" is less the accuracy or authority of the information it offers, than the power of news reports to refute the present in which we were dwelling before we heard them. Thus, the question, "Did you hear the news?" always has an ominous sound, for it suggests that the present is about to be displaced again: what comes next (if it is really news) will shatter the illusion that we were actually dwelling in the present. To grow accustomed to this shattering is part of what it means to be a citizen of the modern world.

Paz describes his adulthood as a "search for the present," in which he sought neither an "earthly paradise" nor a "timeless eternity," but "a real reality." For a Spanish American at the time of the Second World War, the real present seemed to be taking place in other countries. "It was the time lived by others, by the English, the French, the Germans. It was the time of New York, Paris, London. We [in Spanish America] had to go and look for it and bring it back home." Thus began his search, through literature, for "a gateway to the present," some way to belong to his time, his century. "I wanted to be a modern poet," he writes.

What Paz describes, then, is how the garden of his childhood lost its power to define the present—lost it, in part, to the news. In trying to retrieve the vivid presence the present once had, Paz had to discover the nature of the world from which these disturbing items of news had arrived. He had to begin a "search for modernity." It was through this search that he constructed (and conducted) himself as a poet.

Consider Dewey's phrase again: "Our garden is the world." What he means is that we create our private selves in public ways. A democracy, as he never tired of saying, is creative in just this sense. As a way of life, it creates a common world, a public space, that can become everyone's garden, a rich field for the cultivation of individual selves. For Dewey, the true meaning of democracy is not government by consent, but a society in which everyone has the chance to realize his or her unique potential.

Is the news, then, a service to democracy, in Dewey's understanding of the term? Journalists and their critics are accustomed to treating this question in an entirely different way. To them, news serves democracy well when it helps to create "informed citizens"—those who can understand the "issues" they face. News that fails to serve democracy is sensationalized, inaccurate, or biased, slanted in a particular way. That the news is frequently criticized as "slanted" is interesting if we consider it in light of Dewey's remark about "the angle at which [the world] touches our own manner of being." For Paz, what was important in the "slant" of the news was the angle jointly produced by its origin and his own location. News, to a Mexican child at the time, was word of a "real reality" located elsewhere. It was slanted toward him from New York, London, Paris, a world not only beyond his own, but beyond his sense of the beyond. This was its "bias," if you will. It was biased toward an unfamiliar elsewhere, which he would have to look toward and come to know in order to create himself as a man of the twentieth century.

As an instrument of de-

mocracy, news is less a report on the present than a call to begin our individual searches for it. It fulfills its democratic functions when it issues this call, expelling us from the illusory present of a private existence to find the truth in Dewey's dictum: that I must cultivate my own garden, but my garden is the world. Of course, getting the news, receiving word from the real present, is far more difficult that we care to admit. It is not that the media don't tell us the full story, as we so often complain. It's that the "angle" at which the present touches us (or slides by) is determined by *our* position as well as the "slant" the news takes.

Thus, in cultivating our own gardens, we have to be open to the experience that struck Paz when he was dislodged from his world-less garden. Only then are we placed in a position to receive the news. Only then can we be usefully disturbed by it. And only then can we find in modernity our individual homes.

. . . Jay Rosen
New York University

●

THE FIRST QUESTION - ANSWER NEWSPAPER INTERVIEW, REDUX

THE GENESIS OF the newspaper interview has long intrigued students of early American journalism. "Historians have quibbled over the 'first' interview," Warren Francke observed in 1985 in *Journalism History*, "and it surely can be traced to mixed origins, including casual conversation and other informal social transactions. The more formal, early use of the reportorial interview . . . borrows the interrogation model from the courtroom and police practice . . . which elicited testimony in a question-answer [Q-A] format." Dates and places of so-called first newspaper interviews have been positioned across a period that starts near the end of the second decade of the eighteenth century and reaches into the 1860s. Many contenders have been speculatively nominated rather than evidentially. There are, however, only two persons put forth as originating the reportorial Q-A format—James Gordon Bennett (the elder) of the *New York Herald*, and Horace Greeley of the *New York Daily Tribune*.

Francke is among those who suggest that Bennett's interview with a bordello madam about a murdered prostitute, which appeared in his *Herald* 16 April 1836, initiated the Q-A format. Oliver Carlson, in his 1942 biography of Bennett, called this the "first direct interview in American journalism." Bennett's "penny press" rival, Benjamin Day, flatly pronounced the interview a fiction. Frank Luther Mott in 1950 questioned whether the interview should be considered at all since to him it read like a legal deposition. Mott proposed that Greeley's report of his conversation with Mormon leader Brigham Young, which appeared in the Q-A format in the *Tribune* on 20 August 1859, perhaps constituted "the first formal interview," but Mott qualified his claim by adding "with a famous man."

"Perhaps some day some inveterate browser in faded files will discover a published American interview earlier than Greeley's," wrote George Turnbull in 1936.

In 1828, a Q-A interview appeared in a small weekly newspaper published on the western edge of the American frontier. Until further evidence is found, this is offered as the earliest formal Q-A interview. Although an exchange between Samuel Harrison Smith, editor-publisher of the *National Intelligencer, and Washington* (D.C.) *Advertiser*, and Theodore Sedgwick, Speaker of the House of Representatives, appeared in Q-A format in Smith's paper on 19 January 1801, this was essentially the report of a dispute about reportorial procedure, and not a formal interview. On or about 10 June 1828, Augustus Jocelyn, editor-publisher of the Brookville *Franklin Repository* in Indiana's

Franklin County, formally interrogated Indiana Governor James Brown Ray (see figure). Unfortunately, the *Repository* in which the interview appeared is no longer extant, but the text was widely reprinted and commented on by editors of contemporary Indiana news sheets.

Little is known about Jocelyn. In 1798 he was an itinerant Methodist preacher in Connecticut. Eventually he migrated west to become elder of the Methodist church in Brookville and the village's only school teacher. But his true interest lay in newspapering, and in late September or early October 1825 he acquired the printing office of the *Brookville Inquirer* and changed the newspaper's name to *Franklin Repository*.

Politically, Jocelyn was an admirer of President John Quincy Adams and Adams's secretary of state, Henry Clay. But as the 1828 federal and state campaigning warmed up in Indiana, Jocelyn was in the dark about where Governor Ray stood. Ray, seeking reelection as a declared independent, had announced that he embraced none of the national parties. However, his sole opponent was an avowed supporter of John Quincy Adams, sufficient cause for Indiana's Andrew Jackson Central Committee, which at first had no candidate for the gubernatorial seat, to circulate a rumor that Ray, at heart, was a Jacksonian.

In June 1828 Governor Ray appeared in Brookville for a public address. He declared that he could back either Jackson or the incumbent Adams for president if one or the other supported the American system. Jocelyn, who was in the audience, was alarmed, fearing that Ray's remarks would be interpreted by Jacksonians as friendly toward their cherished "Old Hickory." His interview with the governor undoubtedly took place almost immediately after Ray completed his speech.

"At the close of the con-

The First Question-Answer Interview?

The following exchange between Augustus Jocelyn, editor-publisher of the Brookville, Indiana, *Franklin Repository* and Indiana Governor James Brown Ray was printed in the *Repository* on or about 10 June 1828.

Editor. Was not the present administration of the general government constitutionally instituted and organized?

Governor. It certainly was.

Editor. Do you believe the charge of corruption, bargain and sale, urged by their political opponents against Mr. Adams and Mr. Clay, in the case of the last presidential election; and which has been traced back to Andrew Jackson, as its only ostensible author [?]

Governor. I do not believe it, nor did I ever believe it.

Editor. What then, in your estimation, must be the real character of the opposition to the present administration, originally urging in its own justification, the corruption, bargain and sale referred to, and now for several years has been carried on by regular combination, misrepresentation and falsehood, while the administration has steadily pursued its duty in promoting the best interests of the country? Is not this opposition an outrageous and violent faction?

Governor. It certainly is.

Editor. Is it not the indispensable duty of every good man, from the Governor of the State to the humblest peasant, who feels as he should do, for the honor and welfare of his country, openly to oppose such a faction, and by every lawful means in his power, to support such an administration, identifying with it, the support of its incumbents, against the attempts of such a faction to overthrow it [?]

Governor. It certainly is the duty of every man to do so.

versation," Jocelyn wrote," we observed to his excellency that we did not wish him to declare himself on either side of the Presidential question; meaning (and we presume were so understood) that what had passed already, made it sufficiently clear on which side his judgment and love of country had permanently placed him." Jocelyn asserted that he was appending his remarks "for the purpose of showing the opposition that there exists not the slightest pretext in fact, for their claiming the Governor of Indiana for Jackson . . . they practice a foul deception upon the public, as well as upon their adherents."

Jocelyn's convoluted phraseology suggests that after the interview he expanded his questions. Furthermore, the governor's replies are oddly brief and repetitious, unlike his normal speech patterns, which were noted for flowery eloquence and extremely long sentences. Ray, though, entertained a long-running suspicion of the press and he may have been reluctant to inflate his answers. As early as 1819, when he was just starting out as a lawyer, one editor viciously attacked him for his flamboyant courtroom style. In 1823, when he was named interim governor, some editors accused him of being underage for his post, demanding that he produce proof of his birth year. In 1827, one of his speeches got satirical mention as far afield as in the *Harrisburg* (Pennsylvania) *Chronicle*, and he was often the butt of ridiculous tales invented by an Indianapolis printer. Of course, when Jocelyn questioned him, he may simply have been exhausted, for he arrived in Brookville shortly before his talk after a bone-jolting horseback ride from the capital, some sixty-five miles distant.

The interview created a political tempest. The editor of the Lawrenceburg *Indiana Palladium* accused Jocelyn of partisanship if not falsehood: "Your sentiments we *must* have, says the editor and down he sits and frames a dialogue between himself and Mr. Ray." The Salem, Indiana, *Annotator* reprinted the interview, but editor James Allen commented that "Never since our connexion [*sic*] with a press has it been our duty to publish any thing . . . with so much regret . . . [I]f Gov. Ray has made the declaration attributed to him . . . he has forfeited all claims to the respect or support of either party." In Kentucky, Shadrach Penn, Jr., editor of the *Louisville Public Advertiser*, remarked "Wherever hypocrisy and double dealing are considered odious, the name of Gov. Ray must be branded with infamy." The interview even fueled a rumor that Ray was secretly a Jacksonian. Probably worse, the Indiana Jackson Central Committee quickly found a candidate for governor after Jocelyn's interview was circulated.

Ray was shaken. On 4 July in Vincennes, Indiana, he penned a letter, copies of which seem to have been sent to all Indiana papers, in which he wrote, "The editor of the Franklin Repository, Mr. Jocelyn, in certain questions and answers published in that paper, says I admitted in the most unqualified manner, that the opposition to the present administration is an outrageous faction, amongst other things. This I never did consent to. This publication grossly misrepresented me. I deny it as it appears in the newspapers."

That same day he gave an Independence Day oration, which Elihu Stout, editor-owner of the Vincennes *Western Sun*, a Jacksonian sheet, reported as a "very long speech." Stout provided blanks in his brief account, inviting readers to fill them in as they pleased as to the merits of Ray's speech. On 14 July, Ray wrote the *Indianapolis Gazette*, a pro-Ray sheet. "A charge has been going the rounds," he said, "that I called the Jackson party an outrageous and violent faction, at Brookville sometime since. This is false—and the Editor from whom it was said to come, has since admitted in his own paper, that he never asked me such a question." The issue of the *Franklin Repository* in which Jocelyn made the retraction has not been located and apparently is not extant. The *Indianapolis Gazette* reprinted the admission in its issue of 10 July 1828.

The hubbub caused by the interview only bruised Ray's ego. It did not finish him politically. He was returned to office. To Jocelyn's dismay, however, Jackson was elected president.

As a research item, the Jocelyn-Ray Q-A interview is certainly no more that a microscopic fragment of early journalism history. More important, though, it suggests that a vast body of material lies unmined in the musty volumes of small-town weeklies, and that historiographers, jaded with the penny press and the like, might make fresh discoveries in examining rarely looked-at newspapers. In some tiny four-page sheet, set in Caslon, there may be an even earlier Q-A example than the one related here.

. . . *Fredric Brewer*
University of Indiana

●

THE SEARCH FOR STRATEGIC SILENCE

Discovering What Journalism Leaves Out

Richard Lentz

LIKE THE DOG THAT DID NOT bark, thus presenting Sherlock Holmes with an important bit of evidence, material that is *not* printed or broadcast may tell the historian as much as or more than what reaches the audience. The logic of that principle is inescapable, and both historians and social scientists readily subscribe to it. In practice, however, it is more often endorsed than honored in the act of analyzing media content. And even when scholars do seek out significant gaps in media content, they may so with little explicit attention to important methodological concerns.

This article explores some methodological concerns associated with the search for what are commonly labeled editorial omissions but are more precisely identified as episodes of strategic silence.[1] In addition, the article discusses how scholars in disciplines as disparate as history, literary criticism, and sociology have investigated such episodes.[2]

Richard Lentz is associate professor of journalism at Arizona State University. His work has been published by *American Journalism*, *Communication*, and *Journalism Monographs*.

1. Terms such as *omission* describe that which cannot be avoided; when millions of words pour daily into a metropolitan newspaper and only tens of thousands can be published, something obviously must be omitted.

2. For an example from social and intellectual history, see Garry Wills, *Cincinnatus: George Washington and the Enlightenment* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1984), discussed below. Media histories that take up editorial silence include Richard Lentz, *Symbols, the News Magazines, and Martin Luther King* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1990), passim, and Marvin N. Olasky, *The Press and Abortion, 1838–1988* (Hillsdale, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1988), 54, 58, 77, 82, 85, 89, 138–39. Literary criticism is ably represented by Paul Fussell, whose treatment of the purging of the homoerotic element in World War I literature from World War II literature appears in *The Great War and Modern Memory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), 307. Fussell also deftly unmasks World War II British propaganda disguised as the diary of a twelve-year-old Dutch boy in *Thank God for the Atom Bomb and Other Essays* (New York: Summit Books, 1988), 55–81. Sociologist Arthur Seegar, using participant observation, examined the refusal of an underground newspaper to cover ideologically awkward news in "An Unreported Class War: Ideology and Self-Cen-

As a concept, strategic silence embraces both tactic and strategy; the former is (usually) an institutional process producing images and symbols appropriate to the strategy whereby journalists make sense of the world for readers. The version of reality thus constructed relies upon the production of meanings based not only upon published content but upon ways in which some things are not "seen," or if seen, not recorded, as part of the social transaction between readers and creators of editorial matter.[3]

Intention may not always explain the reason for editorial silence. Even some literary scholars have challenged the dominant theory of authorial intention, arguing that the theory obscures the point that literary works are "fundamentally social rather than personal or psychological products."[4] Obviously, the social nature of media products is far more striking than that of literary works. Silence may reflect not the journal's (or reporter's) intention so much as the power of ideology, customs, traditions, and mores in force at a given time. Thus, ruling out information that contradicts accepted wisdom (e.g., "All Indians are savages"; "All women wish to marry and have children"; "All university presidents are erudite") may reify a view of the

---

sorship on the *Berkeley Barb*," *Communication* 10 (December 1987): 31–50. Other social scientists who delved into the unreported include Richard V. Erickson, Patricia M. Barenek, and Janet B. L. Chan, *Visualizing Deviance: A Study of News Organization* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), 296, and Mark Fishman, *Manufacturing the News* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1980), 76–84. Interesting as an attempt to construct theory but not as immediately useful for media analysis is Barry Brummett, "Towards a Theory of Silence As a Political Strategy," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 66 (October 1980): 289–303; see also David C. Price, "A Model of Nothing: Silence As a Communicative Process" (Paper presented to the Rhetorical and Communication Theory Division, Speech Communication Association, San Francisco, Calif., 20 November 1989).

3. Brummett, "Silence As a Political Strategy," 289, defines political strategic silence as "the refusal of a public figure to communicate verbally when that refusal (1) violates expectations, (2) draws public attribution of fairly predictable meanings, and (3) seems intentional and directed at an audience."

4. Jerome J. McGann, *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 44. Elsewhere, McGann offers a telling example of the social nature of literary work from Thucydides:

> Such was the nature of the calamity which now fell on the Athenians; death raging within the city and devastation without. Among other things which they remembered in their distress was, very naturally, the following verse, which the old men said had been uttered long ago:
>
> "A Dorian war shall come and with it death."
>
> A dispute arose whether dearth and not death had not been the word in the verse; but at the present juncture it was of course decided in favour of the latter; for the people made their recollection fit in with their sufferings. I fancy, however, that should another Dorian war ever afterwards come upon us, and a dearth should happen to accompany it, the verse will probably be read accordingly.

Thucydides *The History of the Peloponnesian War* 2.54, ed. and trans. Sir Richard Livingstone (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1960), 122, quoted in McGann, "The Monks and the Giants: Textual and Bibliographical Studies and the Interpretation of Literary Works," in *Textual Criticism and Literary Interpretation*, ed. Jerome J. McGann (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 198–99.

world. Finally, focusing on intentionality may miss the larger point cited by Monica B. Morris when discussing the lack of coverage of the women's liberation movement during its early days. The absence of stories could not, she said,

> lightly be construed as a "deliberate and calculated strategy" of social control. . . . Nonetheless, . . . the result of the lack of coverage would be much the same as [if] it were a deliberate strategy: the movement would remain unknown to the general public; it would be "prevented from becoming news."[5]

Strategic silence may be located by using quantitative content analysis or qualitative textual analysis. The former generally takes as its province recurring patterns of published content, despite the admonition that what is *not* published may be as important or more important than what is. Measuring strategic silence by using content analysis may be advisable when dealing with enormous quantities of text. However, the technique's necessary rigidity discourages inquiries that demand a more discerning eye. Textual analysis is more supple. Both the content analyst and the textual analyst use recurrence as a critical dimension of significance. But the latter, in Stuart Hall's incised phrase, has another string attached to his bow, the flexibility to treat the item that "stands out as an exception from the general pattern"—even to give it, "in its exceptional context, the greatest weight."[6]

The basic strategies of textual analysis—selection, emphasis, and exclusion—enable the historian to grapple with "the complexity and contradictoriness of media artifacts."[7] Each strategy reverberates against the others. Editorial silence often is "heard" most clearly against published content. Yet selection and emphasis logically cannot be separated from silence: Judgment is required about what is *not* selected, what is accorded little or no emphasis, in order to plumb the richness of textual details.

The search for strategic silence promises to yield rich insights into content. Yet snares line the path. The fundamental principle is not to read back into the past knowledge that exists later. The scholar should establish the *probability* that the information was available but was not disseminated. Then, it becomes necessary to fix the significance of the episode. That task, when it requires

---

5. Monica B. Morris, "Newspapers and the New Feminists: Black Out As Social Control?" *Journalism Quarterly* 50 (Spring 1973): 42.
6. Stuart Hall, "Introduction," in *Paper Voices: The Popular Press and Social Change, 1935–1965*, by A. C. H. Smith with Elizabeth Immirzi and Trevor Blackwell (London: Chatto and Windhus, 1975), 15. On the importance of what is not reported, see Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Robert K. Merton, "Mass Communication, Popular Taste and Organized Social Action," in *The Communication of Ideas*, ed. Lyman Bryson (New York: Cooper Square Publishers, 1964), 107, and Richard W. Budd, Robert K. Thorp, and Lewis Donohew, *Content Analysis of Communication* (New York: Macmillan, 1967), 46.
7. Todd Gitlin, *The Whole World Is Watching: Mass Media in the Making and Unmaking of the New Left* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 303.

tracking problems across time, should be undertaken with an awareness of the nature of historical inquiry and, as well, the rule of parsimony. The standard of historical scholarship is not certainty but probability unfolding into verisimilitude. William O. Aydelotte offers a useful lesson: Quantitative procedures cannot "achieve finality and eliminate subjective judgment," nor do they preclude "speculation, imagination, intuition, [and] logic." The principle of parsimony is not to be as precise as possible, but to be as imprecise as the nature of the problem permits; ignoring that principle may lead to what David Hackett Fischer identified as "the fallacy of misplaced precision." The principle logically extends to differing tests of what is good evidence. Evidence is weighed against the demands of a discipline. (Historians need not arraign themselves as heretics when social scientists demand rigorously precise measures of, say, plus or minus three percentage points, indicating possible error in a survey; in certain of the hard sciences, that sort of probability would be regarded as the wildest speculation.) Evidence also is weighed against the limitations imposed by research questions. As H. Stuart Hughes instructs us, the contemporary historian may be, in some instances "in the happiest situation his breed has ever enjoyed," but, confronted by other modern research questions, "may be no better off than the medievalist struggling with an almost total documentary gap."[8]

The processes used to locate that evidence and to fix the significance of those episodes of strategic silence are illustrated by these examples, which are taken from the work of other scholars, primarily historians and social scientists, and from my own study of the news magazines' symbolic portraits of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. The first set of examples includes those in which evidence extrinsic to the text is the critical factor. Locating instances of strategic silence may be accomplished by reasoning from the visibility of the actors; the nature or circumstances of the event; the availability of knowledge to the writer or editor; deviations from journalistic practices; and the characteristics of medium, genre, or particular media organization. In the second set of examples, the task was accomplished by the historian's (or literary scholar's) traditional collation of a text against other texts—earlier or later editions of the same book (or other media product) or articles or accounts published at about the

8. Aydelotte is quoted in Richard E. Beringer, *Historical Analysis: Contemporary Approaches to Clio's Craft* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1978), 200. Fischer cited the example of one "fanatical quantifier in the sixteenth century" who, curious to know the weight of a stone cannon ball, figured it to within a millionth part of the weight of a grain of barley." David Hackett Fischer, *Historians' Fallacies: Toward a Logic of Historical Thought* (New York: Harper, 1970), 61–62. Bernard Berelson mentions instances when precision may not be required in *Content Analysis in Communication Research* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1952), 119. H. Stuart Hughes, *History As Art and As Science: Twin Vistas on the Past* (New York: Harper and Row, 1964), 93.

same time on the same topic or subject by other media—or against evidence secured from archival and secondary sources.

Reasoning from the prominence of the *dramatis personae*, the scholar can quickly establish the availability of the information. *Newsweek*'s coverage of the signing of the 1965 Voting Rights Act is illustrative. It was appropriate that President Johnson was assigned the dominant symbolic role in the magazine's account. What stuck out, however, was the fact that *Newsweek* did not even mention that King was also present at the ceremony. This silence was in sharp contrast to the important symbolic role that *Newsweek* had assigned King at a similar ceremony for the 1964 Civil Rights Act.[9] As a Nobel laureate, King was the most visible black leader in America in 1965. Moreover, his Selma campaign, concluded a few months before, had generated enormous public pressure for passage of voting rights legislation. Almost certainly, therefore, *Newsweek* was aware but chose not to report that King had attended the ceremony.

The significance of the episode can be found in the uneasiness that King was then causing *Newsweek*. King had already taken his first tentative steps as a critic of the Vietnam war and had begun to extend his civil rights activism to cities outside the South. *Newsweek* was disturbed by both developments, and its silence was one manifestation of its uneasiness with what King was doing.

The circumstances or nature of the event may also point to strategic silence. Sandra Haarsager's study of newspaper silence about the Great Depression relied upon reasoning from the nature of the event. The study examined coverage of the Depression in the *Seattle Daily Times* and the *Post-Intelligencer*. Certainly, the papers could not have been ignorant of the Great Depression. By the beginning of 1931, the national unemployment rate "averaged 20 to 25 percent, a number matched in Seattle. In 1931, 1,240 banks locked their doors, followed by 2,300 in 1931—a rate of six a day—followed by another 1,450 in 1932. From 1929 to 1933, national income fell from $88 billion to $40 billion; farm income dropped 61 percent." Nevertheless, her analysis reveals that "the average Seattle reader from his or her daily newspaper might not know there was a Depression in those early years, and certainly not the local economic and social ramifications of it."[10]

Haarsager offered several explanations for the Seattle papers'

9. "A Barrier Falls: The U.S. Negro Moves to Vote," *Newsweek*, 16 August 1965, 15. On King's participation, see David L. Lewis, *King: A Biography*, 2d ed. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978), 303. *Newsweek*'s account of the 1964 ceremony is "... Shall Now Also Be Equal ...," 13 July 1964, 17.

10. William Leuchtenberg, *The Perils of Prosperity, 1914–1932* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), 241–73, quoted in Sandra Haarsager, "What Depression? How Seattle's Local Newspapers Covered the Biggest News Story of the Early 1930s" (Paper presented to the West Coast Journalism Historians Conference, San Francisco, Calif., 24–25 February 1989), 1. For the analysis, see Haarsager, 3–4.

silence. One was self-interest; the newspapers might have perceived a potential threat to their economic health or survival. Another possibility was fear of fostering radicalism among the unemployed if the papers "admitted . . . how bad the situation was. Seattle certainly had a large share of labor unrest and I.W.W. union organizing earlier in the century." Haarsager also cited other attitudes: the fear that talk of anything but "a turning tide toward prosperity would further erode business confidence," the "pronounced fear of federal intervention," and civic pride that demanded that "boosterism" replace "bad news."[11]

Evidence of strategic silence may appear if the scholar reasons from knowledge available to the writers or editors of a given level of education or sophistication or who occupy a particular position. Frances FitzGerald's close reading of history textbooks produced evidence of their authors' silence about the Hispanic role in the settlement of North America. FitzGerald found that schoolbooks in the 1970s broke two centuries of tradition in that they made "no reference to gold, slavery, or massacres of Indians in connection with the Spanish." She argues, however, that

> the real distortion of the texts lay less in what they said about the Spanish than in what they did not say. The students . . . might be shocked to learn, as they could from Howard Mumford Jones, in *O Strange New World*, that while the "forlorn little band of Englishmen were trying to stick it out on Roanoke Island 300 poets were competing for a prize in Mexico City," and that when Jefferson was president the great scientist Alexander von Humboldt declared that, of all the cities in the Western Hemisphere, Mexico City had the most solid scientific institutions.[12]

While students might have been shocked by such revelations, textbook authors should not have been, for they had to have access to those and other texts that detailed the Hispanic role in the settlement of the New World. Of what significance the silence of the textbooks? FitzGerald, astutely, does not limit herself to an individual author's or publisher's intention or failing; rather she looks to the culture for an explanation of the silence. Until the 1960s history textbooks depicted North America as a Northern European America, but the civil rights movement

> shattered the image of a homogeneous American society and, for the first time in the 20th century, raised profound questions about the national identity. The answer given by that movement and accepted as orthodoxy by most state and big-city school

11. Haarsager, "What Depression?" 3, 8–11.
12. Frances FitzGerald, *America Revised: History Schoolbooks in the Twentieth Century* (Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press/Little, Brown, 1979), 95–97.

> boards was that the United States is a multiracial, multicultural society.... The text publishers may now be on the verge of rewriting history backward to accommodate the new population of Spanish-speaking Americans. If so,... the rewriting will affect not only domestic social history but the whole textbook notion of the space that the United States has occupied in the New World.[13]

Strategic silence also may be located through careful attention to characteristics and procedures of American journalism, the particular medium being studied, and the distinguishing characteristics of the individual media organization. Despite the claim that they do no more than reproduce what is happening, journalists construct reality through procedures that are quite selective. As Tuchman argued, "To become news, an occurrence or issue must come within either a reporter's or a news organization's purview." But there are other criteria. The event or issue also must must be "sociologically or psychologically pertinent to a reporter's grasp of the world"—and must "resonate with the reporter's purposes and practical activities."[14]

When studying such issues, events, or personalities, the scholar must be conscious that certain standards or procedures apply with roughly equal force in most or all journalistic media (although, of course, the standards and procedures will vary in different historical periods). Deviation from shared professional standards is powerful evidence that the material was dropped out for reasons other than routine editing.

An excellent illustration is Paul Fussell's textual analysis of the famous dispatch, written by Ernie Pyle during World War II, about the death of Captain Henry T. Waskow. After Waskow's body was returned to his company, in Pyle's moving account, a soldier "sat by the body for some time, holding the captain's hand and looking into his face, [then] finally 'reached over and gently straightened the points of the captain's shirt collar, and then he sort of arranged the tattered edges of the uniform around the wound.'"[15] Pyle left "untouched what normally would be thought journalistically indispensable questions"—all the more so since answering them would hardly betray military secrets to the enemy.

> What killed Captain Waskow? Bullet, shell fragments, a mine, or what?
>
> ... Where was his wound? How large was it. You imply that it was in the traditional noble place, the chest. Was it? Was it a little hole, or was it a great red

13. FitzGerald, *America Revised*, 97.
14. Gaye Tuchman, *Making News: A Study in the Construction of Reality* (New York: Free Press, 1978), 138.
15. Paul Fussell, *Wartime: Understanding and Behavior in the Second World War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 287.

> missing place? Was it perhaps in the crotch, or in the testicles, or in the belly? Were his entrails extruded, or any way visible?
>
> . . . How much blood was there? Was the captain's uniform bloody? Did the faithful soldier wash off his hands after toying with those "tattered edges"? Were the captain's eyes open? Did his face look happy? Surprised? Satisfied? Angry?[16]

That account was written with a "genteel vagueness," concluded Fussell, himself a combat infantry officer of that war. His larger point was that censorship, imposed by the military or self-imposed by correspondents, masked the terrible suffering of Allied combat forces, concealed more than a few Allied military disasters, and hid the fact that much Allied weaponry was inferior to that of the Germans.[17]

An episode from the Albany civil rights movement of 1962 illustrates the necessity of paying close attention to journalistic practices. King and his associate, Ralph David Abernathy, were tried and convicted of criminal charges. They were ordered to pay fines or to serve forty-five days in jail. They chose jail. However, an unidentified person, described as a well-dressed black man, paid the fines, then vanished. King and Abernathy, "who were anxious to remain in jail as a symbol of Negro resistance, were forcibly ejected from their cells."[18]

U.S. News effectively ruled out consideration of this question: How did King come to be released? (Almost in passing, the magazine quoted King's disclaimer, which was disingenuous in tone: "'I don't know who paid it. We didn't want to leave.'") The question was so obvious that even the greenest of cub reporters could scarcely have overlooked it—and if a reporter for a national magazine had missed it, his editors almost certainly would not have missed it. To be sure, there are dangers in making assumptions about actions, motivations, and abilities. But in this case silence reverberated against patterns of content. Silence enabled *U.S. News* to insinuate that the Kennedy administration paid the fine as a political maneuver: "The flurry of activity [leading up to King's release from incarceration] recalled the intercession of the President—then a candidate—when Dr. King was jailed in 1960."[19] Thus unfolded in print an

16. Fussell, *Wartime*, 287–88.

17. Fussell, *Wartime*, 21–23, 25–27, 268. On inferior Allied weaponry, see also Max Hastings, *Overlord: D-Day and the Battle for Normandy* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1984), 186–95.

18. The quotation is from William M. Kunstler, *Deep in My Heart* (New York: William Morrow, 1966), 98–99. See also, Howard Zinn, *Albany: A Study in National Responsibility* (Atlanta: Southern Regional Council, 1962), 5–7.

19. "When Dr. King Went to Jail Again," *U.S. News and World Report*, 23 July 1962, 10. *Time* and *Newsweek* reported that King's release was engineered by the power structure of Albany in order to deny King the martyrdom of incarceration. The interpretation was confirmed some years later by Albany's police

incident that perfectly matched one of the magazine's recurring themes: the civil rights movement was fostered by an unconstitutional cabal of black leaders and high-ranking federal officials.

The particular characteristics of a medium or genre must also be considered while seeking evidence of strategic silence. (However obvious, the point is worth restating. I can recall the obtuseness of one participant in a convention session who was unable to fathom the fact that the operations of the national news magazines differed significantly from those of the small Texas daily for which he had once labored.) Some are so obvious as to merit only passing reference: television's incessant demand for visually effective stories; the multiple editions published by most metropolitan newspapers in which content will appear in some editions designed for geographically defined audiences but not others; deadline schedules; and, in the case of the news weeklies, the occasionally knotty problem of postdated issues.[20]

One characteristic of the news magazine is its almost obsessive marshalling of facts. The weekly magazines seldom provide news; they assume that readers have been informed of news events first by other media, print or broadcast. The news weeklies make sense of the news from the perspective of a middle-class audience. Toward this end, the use of telling details is critically important. Minutiae of dress or mannerisms and other assorted scraps of narrative drama are essential elements in part because facts—the building blocks of news magazine stories—are used to illustrate a dramatic thesis, in part because of the belief that readers infer knowledge of larger matters from seemingly insignificant bits of information.[21]

One bit of information had to do with King's study of Marx, which *Time* twice omitted, once after the Montgomery bus boycott of 1955–56 and again after King's assassination in 1968. It was intriguing that *Time* provided in its first story a name-by-

---

chief, Laurie Pritchett. Howell Raines, *My Soul Is Rested: Movement Days in the Deep South Remembered* (New York: Bantam, 1978), 399–400.

20. Commonly, only the final city edition of a newspaper is microfilmed; relying upon microfilmed copies may skew the results if, for example, the issue is one that would be of interest primarily to the readers in districts outside the metropolitan circulation zone. Gitlin, *Whole World*, 301, mentions this in passing. For cautionary illustrations of how results might be skewed in a specific context, that of a newspaper circulated in Tennessee, Arkansas, and Mississippi, see Hugh Davis Graham, *Crisis in Print: Desegregation and the Press in Tennessee* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1967), 37, and Frank Smith, *Congressman from Mississippi* (New York: Pantheon, 1964), 253. On post-dating of issues, see T. S. Matthews, *Name and Address* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1960), 261. Obviously, searching for instances of strategic silence in news magazines requires careful attention to the chronology of events and the availability of evidence.

21. The liveliest exploration of the newsmagazines' fact fetish is Otto Friedrich, "There Are 00 Trees in Russia: The Function of Facts in the Newsmagazines," *Harper's* 229 (October 1964): 59–65, esp. 62.

name listing of the social philosophers and theorists King studied while at the university or seminary. Putting Marx on that list in 1957, when McCarthyism (though not McCarthy himself) was still a force to be reckoned with, would have required either a forthright denunciation of Marxist thought by King, which he apparently would be unwilling to supply, or a lengthy explanation that might be unsatisfactory to readers with scant tolerance for radicals generally and none at all for those sympathetic to Marxism. It is possible, though unlikely, that *Time*'s net missed King's study of Marx when the research was done for the story published in 1957. By 1968, there could be little doubt about it. As early as 1958, King discussed Marxist ideas in his first book, written after the conclusion of the Montgomery boycott.[22]

The characteristics of a particular media organization should help guide the search for strategic silence. Some uncharacteristic reticence on the part of *U.S. News* illustrates the process. Before his assassination in 1968, King set in motion his most ambitious and most radical project—the Poor People's Campaign. The attitude of *U.S. News* toward the campaign is indicated by a headline: "Communist Influence in March on Washington?" Punctuation notwithstanding, the magazine seemed certain enough of the answer. It was striking, however, that *U.S. News* did not report accusations that King was a Communist or the dupe of Communists.[23] The point is not that *U.S. News should* have reused the accusations that King was a Communist but that it had *not* used accusations that had figured prominently in its reports since 1964. *U.S. News* sacrificed the opportunity, as it seldom did, to offer both genuine and cut-to-fit evidence that would have buttressed a theme. Just then, *U.S. News* was using every other weapon at its disposal to attack the Poor People's Campaign as a radical threat. Yet it remained silent, depriving itself of powerful ammunition.What its silence gained was more important. The magazine had reinterpreted the late King as a vital symbol of moderation and order rather than as a threat to society. King was far too valuable as that kind of symbol to be discarded.

No less useful than such extrinsic evidence is the textual analyst's collation of texts against other texts or sources. The most direct way of doing this is to compare what was actually printed or broadcast with the reporter's unedited story, or to

22. "Attack on the Conscience," *Time*, 18 February 1957, 17. Martin Luther King, Jr., *Stride Toward Freedom: The Montgomery Story* (New York: Harper and Row, 1958), 94–95. King's belief in a synthesis of capitalism and "collective enterprise" as the answer to social and economic problems no doubt was unpalatable to *Time*. The reference to King's study of Marx would have been appropriate journalistically in 1968, if for no other reason than the class orientation of the Poor People's Campaign that King set in motion before his death.

23. Richard Lentz, "The Mutable Prophet: Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Echo Chamber Campaign of *U.S. News and World Report*, 1964–1968" (Paper presented to the Qualitative Studies Division, Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, 5–7 August 1984, Gainesville, Fla.).

interview the reporter. There are problems with this commonsense strategy. Documents often disappear with the passage of time. Witnesses die. Witnesses also lie. And, of course, the notion that there will be a significant disparity between what is filed and what is printed has been eroded if not destroyed outright by sociologists; studies of media organizations have found that journalists internalize their organizations' (often unwritten) rules in order to insure that their stories are printed with prominent display.[24] Even if evidence has not been destroyed or lost, access to it may be denied. Journalistic media usually resist fiercely attempts by governmental agencies to delve into their files and often regard with no greater enthusiasm scholars' petitions to secure access to journalistic "out-takes" and other records.

Evidence within texts may also point to information omitted from an article, book, or program. Paul Fussell found considerable variation between the original edition and a 1965 paperback reprint of *Penrod*, Booth Tarkington's celebration of a pre-World War I Indiana boyhood. Deleted from the later edition were such phrases as "coloured" and "darky," long passages replete with dialect, even references to skin color.[25] Fussell argued that

> the paperback text had been slyly manipulated throughout to purge the evidence of Tarkington's characteristic condescension toward Negroes. And as the evidence had been secretly destroyed, so had Tarkington's wit. This purge had reduced the text to inspidity: we have now, as William Carlos Williams might have put it, a *Penrod* consonant with our day.[26]

Fussell commented acidly on the transformations:

> The past is not the present: pretending it is corrupts art and thus both rots the mind and shrivels the imagination and conscience. Twain's Jim *was* called Nigger Jim. Conrad's novel *is* titled *The Nigger of the Narcissus*. H. L. Mencken *did* amuse his correspondents by using stationery headed "The American Institute of Arts and Letters (Colored).
>
> Are [the] revisions [of *Penrod*] "on a scale worthy of the Soviet *Encyclopedia*"? Not quite, perhaps. But what's worth noting is the way both sorts of "revisions" imply the same rhetorical scenario, one in which a knavish manipulator exploits an ingenuous

24. The literature is too voluminous to do more than mention in passing. See, for example, Leon V. Sigal, *Reporters and Officials: The Organization and Politics of Newsmaking* (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath, 1973); Bernard Roscho, *Newsmaking* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975); Tuchman, *Making News*, and Herbert J. Gans, *Deciding What's News: A Study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek and Time* (New York: Vintage, 1979).

25. Paul Fussell, *The Boy Scout Handbook and Other Observations* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 64–67.

26. Fussell, *Boy Scout Handbook*, 64.

> audience [whose members] are assumed to be insecure, half-educated folk mesmerized by a compound of sentimentality and fear, sensing nothing so much as the obligation to exhibit on all occasions the prescribed quantity of public shame.[27]

Internal evidence can also be used to evaluate news stories. The following excerpt from a *Newsweek* profile of King's widow depicted her as an exemplar of the insults and injuries visited upon the black Southerner:

> For Coretta King, serenity in the face of adversity was nothing unexpected. In a hundred painful explanations to her four children over the years—why whites called them "nigger," why they couldn't go to a segregated amusement park called "Fun Town," why God made some people colored—she had renewed her faith in her husband's gospel of tolerance.[28]

Strategic silence marked that passage. The reference to Fun Town actually appears in King's Letter from the Birmingham Jail, written during his campaign in that city in 1963. Why did *Newsweek* attribute that reference to Mrs. King rather than to her husband's letter? The explanation probably is to be found in journalists' perceptions of what readers would expect or accept. Years before King's death, the Letter from the Birmingham Jail had been acknowledged as one of the civil rights movement's most profound documents. Later readers of that letter, however, would naturally expect King's epistle to maintain a philosophical tenor, not an easy matter given the tone of domesticity that enveloped the encounter at the amusement park, not to mention the name of the center itself—Fun Town. (Ascribing the Fun Town incident to the Letter from the Birmingham Jail would have been like interjecting, in Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, the story Lincoln told aides who were hurrying him through a busy morning before he departed for Gettysburg: "'You fellows remind me of the day they were going to hang the horse thief. . . . The road to the hanging place was so crowded with people going to the execution that the wagon taking the prisoner was delayed. As more and more people crowded ahead the prisoner called out, "What's your hurry, there ain't going to be any fun till I git there."'") Readers would not expect unrelieved profoundity from Mrs. King, so that reporting the Fun House incident would be regarded as entirely appropriate in a journalistic profile of her as mother and widow.[29]

27. Fussell, *Boy Scout Handbook*, 68–69.
28. "You're Such a Brave Lady . . . !" *Newsweek*, 22 April 1968, 32.
29. See Martin Luther King, Jr., to Bishop C. C. J. Carpenter et al. [Letter from the Birmingham Jail], 16 April 1963, 6–7, William C. Hamilton Papers, Birmingham Public Library, Birmingham, Ala. On the news magazines and readers' expectations, see Gans, *Deciding What's News*, 131, 219. It should also be pointed out that this story was published before the emergence of the women's libera-

The disruption (or resumption) of a pattern of coverage may reflect important changes in society or in a journal or in both. The disruption may occur in different ways. A pattern of coverage may be halted, usually fairly abruptly, or a pattern of editorial silence may be broken by reportage or commentary where before there was silence. For example, Garry Wills analyzed references to George Washington in books, poetry, sermons, eulogies, and the like. He found that Washington was initially presented as an American Moses; by 1800, "the Mosaic comparison was everywhere." After 1800, that comparison disappeared almost entirely as "classical models drove out biblical ones in the important first decade after Washington's death." Washington was brought down from heaven and secularized; no longer an American Moses, he became the American Cincinnatus. Wills accounted for the sea change in this manner:

> It was one thing for preachers to think of Washington as their deliverer from King George's Egypt. But when the people were no longer escaping a ruler or fleeing *toward* a realm, the Mosaic dispensation had some troubling aspects. American laws were hammered out in convention at Philadelphia, not delivered down from God's mountain. The threat in the latter form of legislation was made clear by the few men . . . who called for a theocracy modeled on ancient Israel's.[30]

Another example was *Newsweek*'s treatment of King in 1962 during and after his major civil rights campaign in Albany, Georgia. The campaign was covered in detail by *Newsweek*, which consistently supported King. Eventually, however, the Albany movement became an unmitigated failure for King and his Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Strikingly, *Newsweek* maintained strategic silence about King following the campaign, when it had become undeniable that that movement was a disaster for him. A *Newsweek* story, published in the first week of 1963, found that the Albany movement had produced, after more than a year of demonstrations, more than fifteen hundred arrests, several deaths, and "signs of corrosive bitterness and frustrations." The story made no mention of King or the SCLC, which may be likened to recapitulating the details of a major battle without happening to mention the general and army on the losing side. Clearly, *Newsweek*, which had gone to extra lengths to support King in Albany, was taking extraordinary measures to protect his image afterward. A week after carefully writing King *out* of the history of the disastrous Albany venture, *Newsweek* wrote him *into* a more flattering role, as the

---

tion movement, which led, among other things, to some realignment of parental roles. Lincoln's tale is reproduced in Keith W. Jennison, *The Humorous Mr. Lincoln* (New York: Bonanza Books, 1965), 121.

30. Wills, *Cincinnatus*, 27–37, *passim*.

spokesman for American ideals on the one hundredth anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation.[31]

The availability of information to a journalist or publication may also be inferred from evidence turned up by research in various sources. One of the more striking demonstrations of the process occurred during analyses of the role of Walter Duranty, Moscow correspondent of the *New York Times*, in concealing the "terror-famine" that killed millions of people during the collectivization of Soviet agriculture. Although Duranty had estimated, to other correspondents, that the number of dead was about seven million,

> an even clearer proof of the discrepancy between what he knew and what he reported is to be found in a despatch [*sic*] of 30 September 1933 from the British Charge d'affaires in Moscow . . . : "According to Mr. Durranty [*sic*] the population of the North Caucasus and the Lower Volga had decreased in the past year by three million, and the population of the Ukraine by four to five million. The Ukraine had been bled white. . . . Mr. Duranty thinks it quite possible that as many as ten million people may have died directly or indirectly from lack of food in the Soviet Union during the past year."[32]

The influence of the false reporting by Duranty (and others) "was enormous and long-lasting," Conquest concluded. While accurate accounts of the terror-famine did reach the West, the falsifications gave "the impression that there was at least a genuine doubt about what was happening and [insinuated] . . . that reports of starvation came only from those hostile to the Soviet government and hence [were] of dubious reliability."[33]

Archival evidence also helps explain the news magazines' coverage of the 1963 Birmingham campaign. King and his aides regarded Birmingham as the toughest target in the South, but they pressed ahead, recognizing that "we may not win, we may lose everything. But we knew that as Birmingham went, so would go the South."[34] King eventually won a resounding vic-

31. See "Albany Revisited," *Newsweek*, 7 January 1963, 18, and "The Wall," *Newsweek*, 14 January 1963, 27.

32. Robert Conquest, *The Harvest of Sorrow: Soviet Collectivization and the Terror-Famine* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 320. See also James William Crowl, *Angels in Stalin's Paradise: Western Reporters in Soviet Russia, 1917 to 1937: A Case Study of Louis Fischer and Walter Duranty* (New York: University Press of America, 1982), 154–73.

33. Conquest, *Harvest of Sorrow*, 320–21. Duranty's motives remain unclear. Western press colleagues in Moscow thought that, from 1922 on, Duranty was not a free agent but was controlled or influenced by Soviet authorities. "Even if the charges could be shown to be groundless, though, it is clear that Duranty was most comfortably and enviably situated after 1922. If he was not actually paid by the Soviets, he still may have compromised himself and become an apologist to protect this way of life." Crowl, *Stalin's Paradise*, 35.

34. Interview with Wyatt Tee Walker, New York City, 11 October 1967, tran-

tory by maneuvering Fire and Police Commissioner Bull Connor into acts of violence against demonstrators, including children, but several weeks passed before Connor blundered into the trap. In the meantime, *Time* and *Newsweek* sharply criticized King for refusing to halt the protests and to negotiate with an incoming city government regarded as more moderate than that to which Connor belonged, and for deploying black children in marches that led to violence by Connor's forces.

King had courted arrest in order to create a rallying point that would revive flagging enthusiasm in his ranks and encourage more volunteers to participate in demonstrations. President Kennedy telephoned Mrs. King to express his concern about the incarceration of King and assure her that she would be hearing from her husband. But no mention of the call appeared in *Time* or *Newsweek*, even though both had reported a call in similar circumstances when Kennedy was a presidential candidate in 1960. *Time* and *Newsweek* probably knew of Kennedy's call, archival evidence suggests. Birmingham policemen recorded a telephone conversation between King and his wife subsequent to Kennedy's call. Recognizing a good stroke of publicity, King twice instructed his wife to inform his aides of Kennedy's call so that they could notify the press. Other archival evidence indicates that the aides did make such an announcement. *Time* and *Newsweek*, however, ignored the obvious news peg, the parallel to the call from Kennedy to Mrs. King in 1960. It did not suit their purposes to link symbolically the president of the United States and King while King was doing his best to create a crisis.[35]

Evidence from secondary sources may also shed light on silence. Following King's assassination, *Newsweek* was burnishing his image; it maintained that he was a self-sacrificing leader who devoted his considerable earnings as a writer and his cash prize from the Nobel Foundation to the cause he served. He "donated his 1964 Nobel Peace Prize stipend of $50,000 as well as his book royalties to his Southern Christian Leadership Conference and other organizations, including Morehouse College and Ebenezer Baptist Church." The magazine was correct about King's self-sacrifice, but it appeared determined that no taint of past radical association besmirch King's image. The Student

---

script of tape 56, p. 52, Oral History Collection, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University, Washington, D.C.

35. Untitled transcript of telephone conversation, n.d. [April 1963]. The SCLC almost certainly did relay word of Kennedy's call to reporters. Wyatt Tee Walker announced to a civil rights rally on 15 April that Kennedy had called Mrs. King. Detectives B. A. Allison and R. A. Watkins to Chief of Police Jamie Moore. Both documents are in Eugene Connor papers, box 13, file 3, Birmingham Public Library. Reporting the telephone call to Mrs. King did suit the purposes of *U.S. News*, which had a recurring theme of a cabal of civil rights leaders and high federal officials. *U.S. News* added the detail that a second call to Mrs. King was placed by Attorney General Robert Kennedy. See "As Racial Conflicts Broke Out Anew—," *U.S. News and World Report*, 29 April 1963, 8.

Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the Congress of Racial Equality, which were far more radical organizations than King's alma mater and his church, also had received shares of the Nobel prize money but were not listed as recipients of King's largess.[36]

A useful method of turning up evidence of strategic silence is the cross-media comparison. Under some circumstances, the appearance of the omitted material elsewhere in the mass media may provide good evidence of silence. Pat Lauderdale and Rhoda E. Estep investigated discrepant realities by examining coverage in the alternative newspaper the *Guardian*, in support of their analysis of how the July Fourth Coalition March in Philadelphia in 1976 was "reported, misrepresented, and/or unreported" by twenty-eight major American newspapers. "This march was planned and executed by [such groups as] the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, the American Indian Movement, gay activists, and various women's groups. The coalition agreed that the march would celebrate a Bicentennial without colonies, with employment, with democracy and equality for all." Despite its thirty-five to forty-thousand participants, the march was "largely ignored by major American newspapers. The papers did not especially derogate either event or participants." Instead, they "simply defined and treated [the march] as a nonevent," and thus, for most Americans, "it is an event that never occurred."[37]

Cross-media comparison was useful for analyzing *Time*'s and *Newsweek*'s stories about King's Nobel laureate speech in 1964. The full text of the address almost certainly was available to *Time* and *Newsweek*. The address had been transmitted in full text on the Associated Press wire and the full text was printed by the *New York Times*, which exercises an overweening influence on American journalism, including the news weeklies.[38]

---

36. "Newsmakers," *Newsweek*, 27 May 1968, 56. In 1964, neither CORE nor SNCC had set forth decisively on the path of increasing radicalization that would mark their histories later in the 1960s. On the announcement to the press of the distribution of the Nobel cash award, see David J. Garrow, *Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference* (New York: William Morrow, 1986), 368. On that point and the fact that when he died "King was poor indeed," see Jim Bishop, *The Days of Martin Luther King, Jr.* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1971), 84, 358.

37. Pat Lauderdale and Rhoda E. Estep, "The Bicentennial Protest: An Examination of Hegemony in the Definition of Deviant Political Activity," in *A Political Analysis of Deviance*, ed. Pat Lauderdale (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1980), 72, 74, 88–89. A similar critique of media performance has been provided for about fifteen years by Project Censored at Sonoma State University. For the 1990 report, students winnowed six hundred nominated stories to twenty-five and a panel of media experts chose ten top censored stories out of those twenty-five. The top ten censored stories of 1990 included the emergency anti-crime bill (whose provisions would have violated freedoms guaranteed in the Bill of Rights) that was defeated in Congress; the role of then Vice-President George Bush in the Iran-Contra scandal; the extent of civilian casualties and other issues lingering after the 1989 invasion of Panama; and the growing secret or "black" budget of the Pentagon.

38. On the influence of the *Times*, see, for example, Gitlin, *Whole World*, 299–300.

What the two magazines omitted from their accounts of the speech was as revealing as what they published. Silence was maintained about King's remarks about the "debilitating and grinding poverty [that] afflicts my people and chains them to the lowest rung of the economic ladder," and other statements that connected African struggles against colonialism and the black struggle for freedom in the American South.[39] Such notions would not have fitted into the theme implicitly threaded through the coverage; that while King was being honored with the Nobel Prize, so was America; America was being honored for living up to its ideals, for hastening the day when the black Southerner would know the blessings of liberty. If there was much truth to this interpretation, equally as much went unsaid. Already, as the magazines had recognized, the black movement had spilled out of the South and into the rest of the nation; hundreds of demonstrations had set in motion a far more militant phase of the black struggle that would be directed as much against de facto discrimination in America as de jure segregation in the South. Those unquoted statements would have been much more unsettling to the magazines' affluent, centrist readers than a moral epic chanted in bardic tones.

This article illustrates the process first of locating, then of fixing, significant episodes of strategic silence. The examples selected, relying upon both internal and extrinsic evidence, are far from exhaustive. Nevertheless, the categories— visibility of the actors, nature of the event, availability of knowledge, deviations from journalistic practices, characteristics of medium, genre, or particular organization, collation of text against different editions or other media, altered patterns of coverage, and use of archival and secondary sources—show vividly how some scholars have grappled with the problem of finding instances of and assessing the importance of silence in media content.

●

39. "Text of Dr. King's Speech," *New York Times*, 11 December 1964, 33. "Up from Montgomery," *Newsweek*, 21 December 1964, 41; "Two Perspectives—One Goal," *Time*, 18 December 1964, 21.

VISUAL SILENCES

How Photojournalism Covers Reality with the Facts

Kent Brecheen-Kirkton

THE VAST NUMBER OF IMAGES that can be claimed as part of the body of work that we now refer to as photojournalism has been accumulating for well over one hundred years. Photojournalists have pushed into every nook and cranny of the world, photographing in the most exotic places and the most significant events. At times it appears that, with so many photojournalists at work, there is nothing in the world left unphotographed, unreported upon. Yet, as we sift through those images that have reached print, there are indeed significant areas in which photojournalists have remained silent. Why this should be the case is the subject of this paper.

A variety of frames offer a perspective on photojournalism, and each offers some insight into the reasons why silences exist in photojournalists' depictions of reality. The most productive of these frames extend from a recognition that photojournalism exists within the confines of place and technology, and that it is shaped and defined by social and organizational constructs and goals. They reveal that the silences in photojournalism are the result of technology, strategy, or epistemology.

Technological dependency and the need for direct access to events have always restricted photojournalists, and generated the most obvious silences in visual reporting. Photographers must be able to get themselves and their equipment to the scene of the action and they must have materials sufficiently sensitive to light to render an image of the event. As equipment has become more portable and materials more sensitive to light, the arena of reportage has increased. But because we have so often been enthralled by the images that photojournalists produced, we have not become aware of existing silences in visual reporting until new equipment opened new arenas.

From the historian's perspective though, the silences become obvious. Even as Oliver Wendell Holmes praised Mathew Brady's

• • • • •

Kent Brecheen-Kirkton is an associate professor of journalism and director of the Center for Photojournalism and Visual History at California State University-Northridge.

photographs as a stark witness to the Civil War and advised that he "who wishes to know what war is, look at these series of illustrations," we have come to understand a significant silence in Brady's coverage of the Civil War.[1] Brady and his photographers were restricted by the wet plate process to photographing relatively still subjects that were close to his portable darkrooms, which soldiers called "what's-it wagons." As we examine the work of the team of photographers collectively known as "Brady," we see that they were unable to cover events as they unfolded.[2] What they provided us were portraits of the participants and views of the aftermath of battles. Yet, in their day, the photographs were so remarkable that no one was aware of what was missing.

Though Brady and his team of photographers were working prior to the advent of modern photojournalism, the example still holds. The invention of flash powder made it possible for Jacob Riis to depict the poverty in the tenements of New York, and the invention of the halftone made dissemination of those images economically feasible. The miniature camera in the hands of Andre Kertesz and Dr. Erich Salomon opened whole new avenues of exploration and led to the "candid camera" approach that dominates contemporary photojournalism. We only have to look to the pages of *Life* magazine for dozens of examples of the ways in which technological breakthroughs have made more of the world visible to the camera. The universe from the depths of the ocean to the surface of the moon and beyond has become accessible to photographers. New technology has consistently opened new areas of visual exploration. However, from a historian's perspective, we can also see that a lack of that self-same technology has been responsible for significant silences in visual reportage.

These silences are not strategic, for they result more from limitations than from decisions. There are, on the other hand, silences in photojournalism more properly described as strategic. These are silences that result from the social and organizational constructs and goals and from the decisions they engender.

Let us consider for a moment the silences generated by an adherence to the rules of good taste. What is not published in the name of good taste ranges from the mundane to the socially significant. I once worked for a publisher who was disgusted by the sight of armpits and refused to see photos of them published in his newspaper. Now, this is hardly a significant omission, but it did lead to some rather boring coverage of basketball, and, in fact, generated some letters of incredulity from our readers.

1. "Doings of the Sunbeam," *Atlantic Monthly* 12 (April 1869): 11–12.
2. Several photographers, including Timothy O'Sullivan and Alexander Gardner worked for Brady documenting the Civil War. However, since all of the photographs were inscribed, "Photo by Brady," he, for years, received credit for all of the work.

There have been and continue to be some very significant lapses in coverage of the day's events. One only need compare the daily fare in Latin American newspapers to those published in North America to see that violent death and dismemberment is a common reality that Norteños are not asked to confront. This same distaste for graphic depictions of the gruesome aspects of life has resulted in a sterilized image of war. This sterilization constitutes, in the mind of many, a serious misrepresentation that helps to perpetuate a romantic and heroic view of warfare.

We should also include those other silences that result from an adherence to good taste and are somewhat less obvious but possibly more important to our daily conduct and decision making. Consider, for a moment, what silencing photographers on the subjects of child abuse or drug abuse, for instance, has done for the coverage of those subjects. Why would we choose to restrict coverage to the more abstract realm of words? Why do we choose to make such behavior more palatable? While the reasons may vary and some publications may opt for the bolder course in their coverage, the fact remains that good taste is often invoked to silence the photojournalist.

Experience in the newsroom as well as research into the decision-making processes of editors tells us that one of the most common reasons for avoiding depictions of gruesome reality is that publications do not want to offend their readers (or advertisers). This, clearly, is a euphemism for an important institutional goal: to maintain or increase circulation in order to ensure survival.

Indeed, the survival instinct (which must include an awareness of cost efficiency and the bottom line) is often a factor that limits visual discourse by restricting independent investigations. Coverage of the entertainment industry, for example, is supplied without cost to the press by outside individuals and institutions. Entertainers and their agents, who clearly have vested interests, are as often as not the source for photographs that appear in the entertainment sections of newspapers and magazines. It is to their advantage to present entertainers and the industry in a positive light. The publications, in turn, reduce their production costs by availing themselves of the publicity stills rather than assigning a photographer to the story. The result is extraordinarily positive and glamorous, if somewhat mindless, coverage of the industry. To support this contention, one only need notice the hew and cry which swirls around the tabloids and the images produced by their paparazzi. "Legitimate" photographers and publications are as offended by their work as the entertainment industry and hero-worshiping members of the public.

The extent to which individuals or institutions have been able to silence the press in order to forward their own agenda has yet to be determined. But there are historical examples of institu-

tions supplying large numbers of images at no cost to the press. Two such efforts involved agencies of the federal government. The photographs produced by the Farm Security Administration photographers under the direction of Roy Stryker shaped our image of the 1930s. That effort was part of a major, well-funded, public relations campaign designed to garner support for federal programs initiated by the Roosevelt administration. Of the thousands of images that Stryker released for publication, few or none contradict the notion that the people of the nation were desperate and that FSA programs were sorely needed.

The second example involves the War Relocation Authority and the photographers Dorothea Lange and Ansel Adams. The WRA, for some unarticulated reason, decided to establish a visual record of the internment camps. Lange, who had established her reputation with the FSA, was among the first photographers hired by the WRA. Adams was hired a year later by Ralph Merritt, director of the Manzanar Relocation Center.

As Karen Ohrn demonstrates quite convincingly, Lange's images created a sympathetic portrait of the Japanese-Americans who had been incarcerated.[3] Lange left little doubt that she found the whole situation to be a travesty of justice. Adams, on the other hand, believed that the quality of a photograph "depended on the photographer's ability to convey the essential qualities of a subject through an aesthetic representation that demanded perfect technique, a technique that was 'really more an attitude than a command of apparatus and chemicals.'"[4] He created a set of romanticized images that integrated individuals into the awe-inspiring landscape of the High Sierra, and through his assiduous application of aesthetic principles he elevated both the individual and the environment. Adams left viewers with the impression that the internees were flourishing in confinement. In fact, references to confinement were almost nonexistent in his work. Lange's images were effectively suppressed while Adams's were given wide circulation by government agencies through the media.

In such cases there is no pernicious attempt to silence photojournalists, per se. Those who have learned to take advantage of the media's limits, supply images gratis in order to advance their own positions or to dissuade media organizations from sending photojournalists to do their own investigation and reporting. The quality and sheer number of images supplied make it inefficient and unnecessary for the press to generate their own. In so doing, the press creates a form of editorial silence, or at least a partial silence, a silence of opposing views.

I have discussed the ways in which technology and access, taste, and organizational goals have not only influenced cover-

3. Karen Becker Ohrn, "What You See Is What You Get: Dorothea Lange and Ansel Adams at Manazar," *Journalism History* 4 (Spring 1977): 14–22, 32.
4. Ohrn, "What You See," 22.

age but conversely created silences in visual reporting. Historians must be aware that these factors effectively determine what may or will not be covered. There is, however a more pervasive and significant reason for the silences in visual reporting. It extends not from a strategy to suppress particular pieces of information, but from an institutionalized epistemology. Since its inception, photojournalism (as distinct from other forms of photography) has incorporated into its language and methods the tenets of positivism.

In its strongest form, positivism denies the value of other approaches by assuming that *there is a realm of facts that is separate from human perception.* For the positivists, that realm determines the one and only correct view that can be taken of reality, independent of the process or circumstances of viewing. For photojournalists, this belief is expressed as a quest for objectivity. As one searches for the intellectual roots of photojournalism, the language of positivism emerges, though oftentimes in a layperson's idiom. Over time, the positivist perspective has insinuated itself into the professional ethos and has served the industry well. We hear it expressed in the comments of some of the earliest as well as the now most important individuals in photojournalism.

Lewis Hine extended the logical positivism of sociology that he learned at the University of Chicago to his own photography. He understood the power of a large collection of images, a large data base, if you will, to reinforce his findings about child labor. What Hine understood was that photography was perceived to be a mechanical means of observing the world of facts, untainted by human intervention. "The photograph," he said, "has an added realism of its own; it has an inherent attraction not found in other forms of illustration. For this reason the average person believes implicitly that the photograph cannot falsify." He also added a disclaimer that recognized that the audience's faith was generated from an accepted epistemological belief rather than from a clear understanding of the inherent nature of the photographic process: "Of course, you and I know that this unbounded faith in the integrity of the photograph is often rudely shaken, for, while photographs may not lie, liars may photograph. It becomes necessary, then, in our revelation of the truth, to see to it that the camera we depend upon contracts no bad habits."[5]

In reflecting on photojournalism's formative years, Roy Stryker, director of the historical division of the Farm Security Administration, saw that epistemology very clearly. He recognized that photography

was the perfect tool for the hardheaded positivism of

5. Lewis Hine, "Social Photography. How the Camera May Help in the Social Uplift," in *Classic Essays on Photography*, ed. Alan Trachtenberg (New Haven, Conn.: Leet's Island Books, 1980), 111

> the times—a synthesis of artistic and technical effort. The photograph was a little window opening on reality: it focussed attention in a sharply defined field and cut out those elements which might tend to confuse or unprofitably to broaden the inquiry. Unlike painting, which was suspect as a part of organic life and had, in those days, to invoke the science of optics for public verification of some of its statements, the photograph while dealing with the promiscuous data of experience was itself a part of the neutral and sovereign world of fact.[6]

The editors at *Life* magazine, while themselves accepting the positivist conception of photography, also recognized that they must commit readers to the same epistemology by directing their reading of photographic images. *Life* held that a photograph, unless adequately explained, may mean different things to different readers depending on what they bring to it. Only through the proper combination of words and pictures could the implicit be turned into the explicit.

Sometimes an editor's attempt to treat a photograph as factual reality may direct readers away from a readily available nonfactual reading. A most striking example of how the editors at *Life* directed readers away from an alternative interpretation involves the exceptional photo essay by W. Eugene Smith, "Spanish Village."[7] One of the most memorable images in the group was "The Thread Maker." This image has been described as being "at once a village woman at work and an image haunting and eternal as a drawing by Michelangelo of one of the Three Fates."[8] *Life's* caption read: "A peasant woman moistens the fibers of locally grown flax as she joins them in a long strand which is spun tight by the spindle, then wrapped around it."[9] That caption treats the photograph as a factual rendering of reality rather than an occasion for aesthetic allusion.

Positivist epistemology continues to be reified within the profession. Cutlines are written in first person, for instance, to enhance the idea that the reader is viewing an unmediated version of reality. The intellectual and political problems created by such practices have been thoroughly explored by Stuart Hall.[10] For him, it is one of the ways in which newspapers repress the ideological dimensions of photographs in order to pass them off as literal visual-transcriptions of the real world.

Another way in which the industry proffers the idea that its

6. Roy Stryker, "Documentary Photography," n.d., Roy Stryker Papers, Photographic Archives, University of Louisville, Louisville, Ky.
7. W. Eugene Smith, "Spanish Village," *Life*, 9 April 1951, 127.
8. Nancy Newhall, *Aperture* 1 (Spring 1952): 22.
9. Smith, "Spanish Village," 127.
10. Stuart Hall, "The Determinations of News Photographs," in *The Manufacture of News. Deviance, Social Problems and the Mass Media*, ed. Stanley Cohen and Jock Young (London: Constable, 1973).

photographs are a direct, unmediated view of that realm of reality is by controlling style. In news pictures, people are consistently in focus, clearly identifiable, and almost always photographed in a situation already defined as newsworthy. The key figure is nearly always in the middle of the composition, and the edges of the frame are unconsidered. Subtle or sophisticated compositional techniques are virtually absent from news pictures as are any other indications that would remind viewers that the producer of the photograph is a skilled practitioner.[11] In other words, the structure of news pictures is more like that of a snapshot than any of the other forms of photography.

This snapshot ethos masks the role of the photographer in the production of news photographs. The very naiveté of the snapshot approach to making photographic images connotes honesty because we assume that the naive are not equipped to be manipulative. This style of photography is so well established in the public consciousness that it appears to exist without human intervention, and, unlike other styles, to be accomplished without artifice or convention. Indeed, it is so common that it seems "natural." By receding behind the style (working without apparent style), news photographers produce images that have the air of objectivity about them.

These procedures serve the photographers in much the same way that the ritualized procedures of the newsroom serve the reporter.[12] By working within these stylistic limits and by encouraging, even training, audiences to accept the implications of the style, the profession is able to make truth claims, deflect criticism, and reduce the risks of the trade. Indeed, photographs are, as often as not, used to lend credence to the written word. They demonstrate that, "we were there, so you can believe what we tell you."

Positivist epistimology, then, is very valuable to the industry, but it also engenders significant limitations or silences. Complex issues are by their very nature abstract. They do not belong to a separate realm of facts but are intimately tied to human perception. They are, thus, unavailable to a photographer whose work is built upon the positivist tradition. Scholars working in international and cross-cultural communication, for instance, are acutely aware of the silences that follow from positivist assumptions about photography. Their research consistently draws attention to the dominance of images that reduce cultures to scenes of conflict, crime, or cultural celebrations.[13]

11. Barbara Rosenblum, *Photographers At Work: A Sociology of Photographic Styles* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1978).

12. Gaye Tuchman, "Objectivity as Strategic Ritual: An Examination of Newsmen's Notions of Objectivity," *American Journal of Sociology* 77 (Fall 1971): 661–79.

13. For a recent review of this material see Paul Lester and Ron Smith, "African-American Photo Coverage in *Life*, *Newsweek* and *Time*, 1937–1988." *Journalism Quarterly* 67 (Spring 1990): 128–36.

When we, as historians, confront the images of photojournalism, we must be aware that there will be silences in the record. Those silences imposed by technology and appeals to good taste are usually not problematic because they are predictable. We need only know the limitations of the equipment and materials available to photographers in the period under study or the ethic of the day, as the case may be, but the silences brought about by the idiosyncratic actions of individuals working for news organizations are a different matter. Their intrusion is often so subtle as to be undetectable on its face. The problem is further complicated by the fact that for many years newspapers and other publications of interest to historians did not identify the sources of photographs. Here, historians must employ those methods outlined by Richard Lentz elsewhere in this issue in order to discover what is missing from the record. Such an investigation should begin with the question, "Is there any diversity in the depiction of the event under study that would suggest that the images appear to be the result of an independent investigation?"

Finally, we must deal with the institutional epistemology that is the most important determinant of the press's visual reportage. That epistemology generates the largest and most significant silences and, more problematically, engenders an acceptance of its products as coverage of issues. In fact, news photos can only deal with the observable events spawned by issues that are beyond its pale.

The positivist conception of photography remains by far the most commonly held one. It is very much in harmony with Talbot and Daguerre's original conception and with current usage. It is, in fact, so prevalent a conception that, on one hand, it seems to need no discussion, and, on the other, it has controlled and defined our research as effectively as water controls a fish. For evidence, one needs only to note the plethora of articles over the last few years that have attempted to explicate the problem of photography's truth claims.[14]

If we are to deal productively with the vast number of images produced by photojournalists, we must set aside the received view of photojournalism and treat it as a culturally derived act of communication. By treating photographs as products of social institutions and practices rather than as aspects of reality, we will enrich and enliven our understanding of those institutions.

●

14. See for instance Howard Becker, "Do Photographs Tell the Truth?" *AfterImage* 1 (February 1978): 9–13; Joanna Scherer, "You Can't Believe Your Eyes: Inaccuracies in Photographs of North American Indians," *Studies in Visual Anthropology* 2 (Fall 1975): 67–79; and Sol Worth, *Studying Visual Communication*, ed. Larry Gross (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981).

ELLIPSIS AND ECLIPSE AS INDICATORS OF BIAS

The *Miami Herald*'s Coverage of Cuban Issues

Fran R. Matera

ON 19 OCTOBER 1987, THE CUBAN American National Foundation placed a full-page advertisement in the *Miami Herald* blasting the newspaper's coverage of Cubans and Cuban American issues. The sharply worded ad followed nearly three decades of acrimony between Miami's dominant Latin immigrant population and South Florida's influential, Anglo-owned, Anglo-edited newspaper.

The attack came a month before the *Herald* tried anew to reach the Hispanic market by restructuring and updating its Spanish-language insert, *El Miami Herald*.[1] The foundation, which had no reason to believe *El Nuevo Herald* would be any more in tune with the Cuban community than *El Miami Herald*, took both offense and the offensive. It assailed the paper's editorial policy as "ignorant" and its coverage of Cuban Americans as inaccurate. It further claimed the publication's true interest in Cuban Americans was motivated by the exiles' bank accounts. It charged, in part, that

> *The Miami Herald* is aggressive in its ignorance of our people . . . *The Miami Herald*'s abuses go beyond insensitivity. Over the years, *The Herald* has exhibited a pattern of neglect, manipulation and censorship of Cuban and Cuban American news. . . . It refuses to understand how anyone can feel such passion against communism without being right-wing kooks on the fringe of society. . . . *The Miami Herald* cannot dismiss our values and institutions and still expect to win our patronage. . . . *The Miami Herald* will never be accepted until it realizes that when it unfairly attacks or misrepresents the institutions we seek to build in this

1. Mark Fitzgerald, "Miami Herald to Launch New Paper Aimed at Hispanic Readers," *Editor and Publisher*, 7 November 1987, 20.

Fran R. Matera is an assistant professor in the Walter Cronkite School of Journalism and Telecommunications at Arizona State University.

> country, it attacks the very roots and culture we are seeking to establish. . . . Cuban Americans will continue to prosper and contribute to this wonderful land that is our home. We are not so certain that a paper that has been so disdainful of our community can long survive, let alone prosper.[2]

This study attempts to determine if persistent negative images of Cubans and Cuban-Americans are consistently displayed in the stories that appear in the *Miami Herald*, and its Spanish-language version, *El Herald/El Nuevo Herald*. I collected and read microfiche copies and regular editions of the *Miami Herald* and *El Herald/El Nuevo Herald* from 1976 to 1988 for stories that dealt with Cuban issues. Cuban issues were defined as information concerning or affecting the Cuban community in South Florida or as an entire entity. In particular I looked for strategic silences in the *Herald* and *El Nuevo Herald* from January through December 1987. This time frame was selected for its wealth of incidents involving the Cuban community, on both the local and national levels. The time frame also included the introduction of *El Nuevo Herald* and its response to the sensitivity issue.

My method for uncovering strategic silences is to examine the stories' use of the tropes ellipsis and eclipse. An *ellipsis* is defined as the exclusion of obvious information such as opposing points of view or relevant and contextual data. A similar trope, typical of propaganda, can also be identified in the *Herald*'s pages, and this study coins a term to describe it: *eclipse*. This trope subverts the order of importance that governs objective news reporting; it diverts the reader's attention to insignificant aspects of a story, and in some cases represents inaccuracies as facts.

Both tropes are important as instances of editorial omission or strategic silence.[3] As historian Richard Lentz explains elsewhere in this issue, "As a concept, strategic silence embraces both tactic and strategy; the former is (usually) an institutional process

---

2. "The Cuban American Community and The Miami Herald," *Miami Herald*, 19 October 1987, sec. A.

3. For discussions of silence and communication, see Bernard P. Dauenhauer, *Silence: The Phenomenon and Its Ontological Significance* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980); Barry Brummett, "Towards a Theory of Silence as a Political Strategy," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 66 (October 1980): 289–303; Thomas J. Bruneau, "Communicative Silences: Forms and Functions," *Journal of Communication* 23 (March 1973): 39; Richard L. Johannesen, "The Functions of Silence: A Plea for Communications Research," *Western Speech* 38 (Winter 1974): 25–35; Robert L. Scott, "Rhetoric and Silence," *Western Speech* 36 (Summer 1972): 146–58; Max Picard, *The World of Silence* (Chicago: Regnery, 1952), xix–xx, 115; J.Vernon Jensen, "Communicative Functions of Silence," *ETC., A Review of General Semantics* 30 (September 1973): 249–57; Peter Ehrenhaus, "Silence and Symbolic Expression," *Communication Monographs* 55 (March 1988): 41–57; Richard Lentz, "The Search for Strategic Silence" (Paper presented to the History Division, Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, 3–6 August 1986, Norman, Okla.).

producing images and symbols appropriate to the strategy whereby journalists make sense of the world for readers."[4] Lentz further argues that the underlying principle that should guide the historians' search for strategic silence is "the *probability* that the information was available but was not disseminated."[5]

Among literary theorists and rhetoricians, the study of tropes has, for the last half-century, emphasized that they are an inextricable part of all discourse, be it literary, everyday, technical, or journalistic. The consistent, patterned manipulation of tropes indicates style, bias, or both.

One approach to understanding tropes, or figurative speech, begins with Vico, who says that "all the first tropes are corollaries of poetic logic," which is the basis of the wisdom of the ancient, precivilized cultures.[6] Vico called metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche, and irony "imaginative class concepts." As concepts, these tropes map the development of human thinking itself, as manifested in the myths, literature, and discourse human beings create.[7] Hayden White believes that what literary critic Kenneth Burke terms the "master tropes,"[8] devices of expression for purposes of interpretation, may be strategies that prefigure descriptions, explanations, and ideological stances toward an object of study.[9]

Endemic to language, tropes suggest how writers compose, highlighting there and hiding here, limiting and liberating an audience's thinking. Paul de Man maintains that a trope is a "figure of knowledge," wherein a writer creates and reader recreates uncertainty over whether to interpret literally or figuratively.[10] Harold Bloom terms a trope a "figure of will." To him a trope is a violent wrenching of a body of pre-existing meanings, a willful and deliberate attempt by a writer to "misread" the words and concepts the language already contains.[11] As sym-

4. Richard Lentz, "The Search for Strategic Silence," *American Journalism* 8 (Winter 1991): 11.
5. Richard Lentz, "Strategic Silence," 12.
6. Giambattista Vico, *The New Science of Giambattista Vico*,. 3d ed. (1744) trans. Thomas Goddard Bergin and Max Harold Fisch (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1968), 129.
7. Phillip Arrington, "Reading, Responding, Composing: A Revisionary Approach," *Journal of Advanced Composition* 5 (1984): 37–49, and "Tropes, Invention and the Composing Process" (Ph.D. diss., University of Louisville, 1984), v.
8. Kenneth Burke, *A Grammar of Motives* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), 503–17, and *Language As Symbolic Action* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968).
9. Hayden White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973), x–xii, 13, 31–37; Marshall Gressman, "Hayden White and Literary Criticism: The Tropology of Discourse," *Papers on Language and Literature: A Journal for Scholars and Critics of Language and Literature* 17 (Fall 1981): 424–45.
10. Paul de Man, *Allegories of Reading* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1979), 10.
11. Harold Bloom, *Wallace Stevens* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1977), 395.

bolic acts, tropes also imply the stances we take toward meaning and power, in both a social and political sense.[12] According to Phillip Arrington, each trope also indicates an interpretive strategy and a ruling interest that exerts power through the explanatory force of its symbols.[13] Tropes may operate either consciously or unconsciously, Arrington says, but there can be no doubt that they direct our thinking and writing.[14]

American journalists pride themselves on writing with objectivity, detachment, accuracy, and a lack of partisan passion. Indeed, the American Society of Newspaper Editors, in its 1923 "Canons of Journalism," speaks of "accuracy" and a "clear distinction for the reader between news reports and opinion."[15] The Society of Professional Journalists also exhorts its members to be accurate and objective. This approach defines journalism as a type of fact-based writing that disseminates information. However, Lakoff and Johnson argue that "objectivism is a myth."[16] Lowenstein and Merrill agree:

> To be quite realistic, one must admit that a reporter — wrapped in the constricting net of language, reality, and personal psychological and ideological conditioning—cannot be perfectly objective in communication. . . . The traditional idea that a reporter can be objective tends to be losing ground.[17]

Increasingly, journalists recognize that they use devices of literature, or interpretive meaning, to create a version of the "truth," a perception or misperception that, in turn, is conveyed to their audience.

Tropes operate on the unquestioned assumption that their literal message be suspended in favor of a pluralistic reading of the tropes' reverberative meanings.[18] But such a suspension of literal or univocal meaning, coupled with poetic, ambiguous meanings, runs counter to the standards or expectations of journalism. In order to use tropological language to discover

12. Carl R. Hausman, *Metaphor and Art: Interactionism and Reference in the Verbal and Nonverbal Arts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 4, 50; Brummett, "Theory of Silence," 291; R. Blackmur, "The Language of Silence," in *Language: An Inquiry into Its Meaning and Function* (New York: Harper, 1957), 134–52.

13. Arrington, "Tropes, Invention," 43–44; Richard E. Beringer, *Historical Analysis: Contemporary Approaches to Clio's Craft* (Malabar, Fla.: Robert E. Krieger Publishing, 1986), 26–32.

14. Arrington, "Tropes, Invention," 106–7.

15. Edwin Emery and Michael Emery, *The Press and America: An Interpretive History of the Mass Media*, 4th ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1978), 511–13; John L. Hulteng, *Playing It Straight: A Practical Discussion of the Ethical Principles of the American Society of Newspaper Editors* (Chester, Conn.: Globe Pequot Press, 1981), 85–86.

16. George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 185–222.

17. Ralph L. Lowenstein and John C. Merrill, *Macromedia: Mission, Message and Morality* (New York: Longman, 1990), 270.

18. Beringer, *Historical Analysis*, 28.

stylistic bias in news, one must place in abeyance the journalism tenet that opinions are expressed only on the editorial pages. Tropological analysis reveals that editorial attitudes cut across all sections of the newspaper and, in reality, reverberate into the reporting function. Tropological thinking may even have the effect of setting a hidden agenda.

The strategic manipulation of tropes revealed through patterns of use over time can unveil a newspaper's willingness to slant its readers' knowledge and opinions of a subject. Tropes allow such manipulation precisely because they operate at a subliteral level of language apprehension. A newspaper can maintain a facade of objectivity by pointing to what its texts, especially its editorials, might say at literal levels, while eliding the aim of its tropes.

Textual analysis uncovers the connection between deeply embedded tropes and general patterns of bias in a wide range of journalistic writing. It uses recurrence as one critical dimension of significance because, as Stuart Hall explains, recurring patterns can point to latent meanings in content:

> Position, placing, treatment, tone, stylistic intensification, striking imagery, . . . are all ways of registering emphasis. The really significant item may not be the one which continually recurs, but the one which stands out as an exception from the general pattern — but which is also given, in its exceptional context, the greatest weight.[19]

Instances of ellipsis or eclipse may be located by measuring articles against primary or secondary sources, other media, over time, or issue by issue. Where possible, an examination of an English-language version and a second-language version of the same publication may uncover instances of strategic silence.

Tropological analysis complements existing studies that focus on the professional norms and behaviors of journalists and their interaction with newsmakers and the public.[20] Such studies

---

19. Stuart Hall, "Introduction," in *Paper Voices: The Popular Press and Social Change, 1935–1965*, by A. C. H. Smith with Elizabeth Immirzi and Trevor Blackwell (London: Chatto and Windhus, 1975), 15.

20. See Jay G. Blumer and Michael Gurevitch, "Politicians and the Press: An Essay on Role Relationships," in Dan D. Nimmo and Keith R. Saunders, eds., *Handbook of Political Communication* (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage, 1981), 467–93; Robert E. Drechsel, *Newsmaking in the Trial Courts* (New York: Longman, 1983); Delmer D. Dunn, *Public Officials and the Press* (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1969); Edward J. Epstein, *News from Nowhere: Television and the News* (New York: Vintage, 1973); Herbert J. Gans, *Deciding What's News: A Study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek and Time* (New York: Vintage, 1979); Stephen Hess, *The Washington Reporters* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings, 1981); John W. Johnstone, Edward J. Slawski and William W. Bowman, *The News People: A Sociological Portrait of American Journalists and Their Work* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1976); Bernard Roshco, *Newsmaking* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975); Leon V. Sigal, *Reporters and Officials: The Organization and Politics of Newsmaking* (Lexington, Mass.: Heath, 1973); Robert

make it clear that news content is often less a function of events themselves than of the professional and sociological perspectives of reporters and editors. Tropological analysis also complements studies that emphasize the commercial character of the U.S. media and the importance of business decisions in limiting or determining media content.[21] The migration of Cubans to Miami heralded a shift in the area's commercial character, which, in turn, exerted pressure on media decisionmaking.

In 1960, Miami was a town of 291,688, with Dade County numbering 935,047. The first wave of Cubans had recently found their way across the ninety miles of the Florida Straits that separates Key West from Fidel Castro's island.[22] The Freedom Flights of 1960 and 1973 pushed the Cuban refugee migration to an estimated 342,000 and forever changed the lives of Miami and Dade County residents.[23] By 1978, *Time* magazine was reporting that the American melting pot was bubbling once again.

> American residents of Spanish origin, . . . have increased by 14.3 percent in the past five years alone. Now the country's fastest growing minority, they are bidding to become an increasingly influential one.[24]

In 1979, *U.S. News and World Report* called Miami a new Hispanic power base in the United States.

> From Little Havana to affluent suburbs, a major metropolis is undergoing reincarnation, with an inflow of Spanish-speaking people and their culture that has made it the "foreign capital" of Latin America.[25]

In late April and early May 1980, the Mariel boatlift sent an estimated 125,000 Cubans to the Miami area, swelling the refugee migration and speeding up the transformation.[26]

By 1990, Hispanics in Miami represented an estimated 45 percent of Dade County's population and will become a majority

B. Sims, *The Pentagon Reporters* (Washington, D.C.: National Defense University Press, 1983); Jeremy Tunstall, *Journalists at Work* (London: Constable, 1971); Gaye Tuchman, *Making News: A Study in the Construction of Reality* (New York: Free Press, 1978).

21. See J. Herbert Altschull, *Agents of Power: The Role of the News Media in Human Affairs* (New York: Longman, 1984); W. Lance Bennett, *News: The Politics of Illusion* (New York: Longman, 1983); Thomas C. Cochran, "Media as Business: A Brief History," *Journal of Communication* 25 (Autumn 1975): 155–65; Joseph Turow, *Media Industries: The Production of News and Entertainment* (New York: Longman, 1984).

22. Metro-Dade County Planning Department, Research Division, "Dade County Facts," April 1990, 3.

23. Metro-Dade County Planning Department, Research Division, "Hispanic Profile," 1986, 4.

24. "It's Your Turn in the Sun," *Time*, 16 October 1978, 48, 50–52, 55, 58, 61.

25. Kathryn Johnson, "Miami: New Hispanic Power Base in U.S.," *U.S. News and World Report*, 19 February 1979, 66, 69.

26. Metro-Dade County Planning Department, Research Division, "Population Estimates and Projections by Race and Hispanic Origin: 1950–2000," April 1990, 19.

in the 1990s, with Cubans as the largest group. White non-Hispanics or "Anglos" total 35 percent, and blacks 20 percent, to round out the ethnic mix.[27]

Unlike other cities, where Hispanic concentrations are generally poorer than average, Miami's Cubans are solidly middle-class, with average household incomes in the twenty-five to thirty thousand dollar range.[28] They have come to dominate the tropical city economically, politically, socially, and culturally, yet they feel woefully misunderstood in the pages of the local newspaper. Thus, the growth of the Cuban community in South Florida has coincided with the birth of powerful, nonprofit watchdog organizations such as the Cuban American National Foundation. According to its mission statement, the Foundation

> supports the concept of a free and independent Cuba based on the best democratic traditions. . . . The goals . . . are to inform public opinion on problems of Cuban concern, to fight bigotry, to protect human rights, and to promote legitimate Cuban cultural interests.[29]

Recognizing the market for a Spanish-language publication, the *Miami Herald* introduced *El Herald* in March 1976. It was the only Spanish-language sister publication of a major U.S. metropolitan daily.[30] Almost from the outset, the insert was seen by many Cubans as reflecting the same insensitivity that the *Herald* had been accused of displaying in its English-language version. In April 1976, one month after the debut of *El Herald*, a group of former political prisoners staged a hunger strike, chaining themselves to the doors of the six-story Miami Herald building. They were protesting the treatment of prisoners in Cuba and the newspaper's failure to report on the situation just ninety miles from its doors. The protesters kept their vigil ten days before representatives from the newspaper spoke with them about their request. The protest ended when the newspaper's editors assured them they would investigate.[31]

On 23 May 1976, the *Herald* began a two-part series headlined "Castro's Jails: Still Bulging 17 Years Later."[32] However, the incident that sparked the paper's coverage was never mentioned

---

27. Metro-Dade County Planning Department, "Population Estimates: 1950–2000," April 1990, 2.
28. Ana Veciana-Suarez, *Hispanic Media USA: A Narrative Guide to Print and Electronic Hispanic News Media in the United States* (Washington, D.C.: Media Institute, 1987).
29. Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, *Cuba and the Cubans* (Washington, D.C.: Cuban American National Foundation, 1983), cover.
30. Veciana-Suarez, *Hispanic Media*, 36.
31. Antonio Rivera, Miami Bureau chief of Radio Marti, interview with author, Miami, Fla., 10 November 1986.
32. Frank Greve and Miguel Perez, "Castro's Jails: Still Bulging 17 Years Later," and "They Can't Be Helped, But Aren't Forgotten," *Miami Herald*, 23 May 1976, sec. A; "Hard Work-Indoctrination a Key to Getting by in Castro's Jails" and "Boniato Massacre: What Really Happened?" 24 May 1976, sec. A.

nor the reason why its editors had not felt compelled to check reports of ex-political prisoners who had lived in the Miami area for years.

Examples of the *Herald*'s use of tropological language begin in 1976 and run until the present. In many instances these tropes have cast a negative shadow on Cubans and helped to solidify what *Newsweek* once referred to as the "dead wrong" image of the stereotypical Miami Cuban. *Newsweek* described that stereotype as a "paunchy Latino in a guayabera (a pleated shirt) who sits around Calle Ocho (Eighth Street in Little Havana) drinking coffee from little paper cups while making impassioned speeches against Fidel Castro."[33] It is interesting to note that when the revamped *El Nuevo Herald* appeared on Calle Ocho (Eighth Street) newsstands, the *Herald* promoted the occasion by giving away guayaberas and demitasse sets to its target audience.

While the abundance of tropes in a newspaper's stories and reporters' dependence on them might be accidental, the *Herald*'s reporting and editorializing on Cuban issues over the last twelve years demonstrate a use of ellipsis and eclipse, as well as other tropes, as subtle instruments to transmit or reinforce stereotypes about Cuban exiles. On this level, the use could be construed as propagandistic.[34] What follows, then, are some instances of strategic silence in the *Herald*'s coverage of Cubans from January through December 1987.

An editorial on 8 May 1987 highlights the "terrorist" bombings of two Miami freight forwarders that ship packages to Cuba.[35] The explosions caused property damage but no injuries. No one took credit for the action but the editorial writers used the opportunity to reprimand Miami's Cubans for "vigilantism" and pointed out that "The last thing Miami needs is a renewed wave of terrorism that menaces innocent, law-abiding people," creating the impression that Cuban exiles wanted something different.

A 12 June 1987 Living Today front page spoofed the Cuban-born then-county manager. The writers suggested replacements for the official's fifteen suits, which were impounded one week after the duplex where they were purchased was "busted."[36] Illustrations superimposed the manager's head on five different types of outfits: the "Miami Vice" look, a safari suit, running gear, a guayabera, and a preppie jacket and pants. The text

33. Tom Morganthau, "Miami: It's America's Casablanca," *Newsweek*, 25 January 1988, 22–25, 27–29.

34. Lowenstein and Merrill, *Macromedia*, 244–56. See Alfred McClung Lee, "The Analysis of Propaganda: A Clinical Summary," *American Journal of Sociology* 51 (September 1945): 126–35; Jacques Ellul, *Propaganda* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965).

35. "Bombing Indefensible . . . Even Against Cuba," *Miami Herald*, 8 May 1987, sec. A.

36. "Suitable Suggestions," *Miami Herald*, 12 June 1987, Living Today section.

described the duplex as "the hot shopping house on a nondescript residential street where oodles of pols, aides and underlings bought Armani, Adolfo, Dior, Laurent and Lauren." It then picked up some of the county official's prior out-of-context quotes on fashion: "What I wear in the morning determines what I'm going to do that day" and "The way you look is important. The first impression, it kind of makes it easier to open doors and facilitate conversation" and "You don't have to spend a lot of money to look fashionable."

Given the pre-existing perception that Miami Cubans hold of the *Herald*'s cultural insensitivity, it is curious that it chose to run a story that singled out and ridiculed an individual who was accused of buying stolen merchandise while eclipsing a full disclosure of the identities of many community movers and shakers who were also involved.

Also not to be overlooked is the coverage of the Pan American Games played in Indianapolis in August 1987. Members of the anti-Castro group Cuba Independiente y Democratica (CID) threw leaflets at Cuban baseball players near their Bush Stadium dugout before an 9 August Cuba-Netherlands Antilles game. An *Indianapolis Star* sports reporter wrote that "a plane towing a banner urging Cuban athletes to defect reportedly flew over the stadium." In addition, reports indicated that the Cuban American National Foundation was setting up space to handle any defectors during the two-week period of the games.[37]

The *Star* described an incident that occurred during the games in which three Cuban boxers ran into the stands and beat CID members. An article in *El Nuevo Herald* said that "An investigation showed they [the boxers] acted without legal provocation."[38] That same article also recounted another incident in which several baseball players from Cuba became angry at the crowd and charged the stands. But the *Miami Herald* did not carry that article. The English-language coverage of the incidents painted the Cuban Americans in a negative light and generated an editorial which in part read, "The taunting of Cuban athletes and hooliganism in the stands made the demonstrators look like bullies."[39] The stories had many Cuban Americans wondering if they witnessed the same event. Totally elided was the point that the Cuban Americans had a constitutional right to express their views peacefully as they did.

In the *Miami Herald*'s coverage of Pope John Paul II's visit to Miami on 12 September 1987, sidebar features were used to strike a more human chord with readers. One story ran under a reverse kicker reading "Special message" followed by "In pope's

37. Phil Richards, "Violence Overshadowed Cubans' Performance," *Indianapolis Star*, 24 August 1987, Sports section.
38. Phil Richards, "La Ira Opaco el Juego de los Cubanos," *El Miami Herald*, 29 Agosto 1987, sec A.
39. "Pan Am Gamesmanship," *Miami Herald*, 29 August 1987, sec. A.

words, Cuban exiles find hope." In it Miami Cubans interviewed were pleased that the Holy Father mentioned "the Mother of God, the patroness of Cuba."[40] The article failed to mention or even refer to the fact that the pope chose not to meet with leaders of the Cuban community while in Miami, nor did it refer to the pontiff's proposed visit to Cuba to meet with Castro and the implications of his interaction or lack of interaction with the exiles, who are largely Roman Catholic. The only mention of the pope's silence on Cuban exile issues appeared in a 13 September article written by Tomas Regalado, which appeared only in the Spanish-language paper.[41]

Another instance of ellipsis occurred on 14 November 1987, in a front-page story about a United States human rights organization visiting Cuban prisons. The story's headline read: "U.S. group pays visit to Cuban jail," with the subhead, "Inmates described as looking healthy."[42] The tour was conducted by Wayne Smith, a former U.S. diplomat assigned to Havana. Totally elided was the fact that Smith, who is regarded as sympathetic to Fidel Castro, did not himself visit Cuba. He was quoting members of the delegation who visited the island's most notorious prison—Boniato. Similarly elided was an item that included Cuba in the 1987 report of Amnesty International, the Nobel Prize-winning human rights group that condemns inhumane prisons under regimes of several political persuasions. This missing information was brought to light in a 19 November 1987 commentary by a Cuban *Miami Herald* editorial board member, whose column appeared on page 35-A, more than a week after the front-page story appeared.[43] This in no way can be construed as balanced coverage of the issue.

Two striking examples of eclipse appeared in July and December 1987. On 22 July 1987, the *Herald* ran a story on bilingualism on the front page of its Local News section. The lead story was paired with the headline, "Metro: Let voters decide bilingual issue."[44] The story explained that area commissioners agreed that voters, not the commissioners themselves, should decide whether to repeal Dade County's English-only law. The decision came after a dramatic reversal by the Cuban commissioner who had proposed the repeal. The decision was greeted by angry words on both sides who felt the issue was too divisive to

---

40. "In Pope's Words, Cuban Exiles Find Hope," *Miami Herald*, 13 September 1987, sec B.
41. Tomas Regalado, "El Papa y los Cubanos," *El Miami Herald*, 13 September 1987, sec. A.
42. Don Bohning, "U.S. Group Pays Visit to Cuban Jail," *Miami Herald*, 14 November 1987, sec. A.
43. Carlos Verdecia, "Wayne Smith: On the Wrong Side of Cuban History," *Miami Herald*, 19 November 1987, sec. A.
44. Justin Gillis, "Metro: Let Voters Decide Bilingual Issue," *Miami Herald*, 22 July 1987, sec. B.

consider as a referendum. The issue escalated, when in a story on the front page of the Local News, headlined "Bilingualism debate sparks calls, threats," a local talk-show host suggested that the Cuban commissioner could be responsible for a "real bloodbath. . . . It's criminal."[45] The reaction to the decision ranged from death threats and a bomb scare to eighteen hundred phone calls and bitter recrimination. The following day, the editor of the *Herald* wrote a column calling for both sides to "let sleeping perros (dogs) lie."[46] It did not take to task those who issued death threats or bomb scares. Nor did it point out that a segment of the Anglo community was using threats of violence to oppose a democratic election to decide the issue.

Perhaps the clearest instance of eclipse occurred in a 27 December 1987 editorial titled "Challenge to Cubans," in which the writer failed to challenge a Mason-Dixon poll that found that 77 percent of non-Hispanic whites and 72 percent of non-Hispanic blacks polled said that "immigration from Cuba has, generally speaking, hurt the quality of life in Florida."[47] The piece failed to mention that the poll was taken shortly after riots by Cuban detainees and hostage taking at the Oakdale, Louisiana, and Atlanta federal prisons. Nor did it account for the reasons why 70 percent of the Hispanics polled statewide responded that the Cuban presence had helped Florida's quality of life. In essence, the editorial tended to support the "majority" view that felons represent all Cubans. The *Herald*'s failure to challenge the timing of the poll indicates a willingness to accept an opinion obviously skewed by a crisis as emblematic of prevailing, typical public opinion. Thus, the post-riot poll itself functions as a synecdoche, as partial evidence of Florida's general opinion about Cubans, while eliding the timing of the survey.

A separate instance, several weeks after the prison riots, illustrated the same pattern of misrepresentation. The *Herald* printed a story—"Prisoners to pitch in at Oakdale"—in its 12 January 1988 edition.[48] In it, the writer highlighted the fact that no Cubans were among the inmates who volunteered to restore the shattered facility. Conspicuously absent from the report was that immediately following both crises, Cuban detainees were removed from Atlanta and Oakdale and placed in other federal prisons, making it impossible for the inmates to assist in any cleanup effort.

Such uses of tropological language can be conscious or unconscious. Used consciously, tropes help deflect potential libel suits

45. Justin Gillis, "Bilingual Debate Sparks Calls, Threats," *Miami Herald*, 25 July 1987, sec. D.
46. Jim Hampton, "Please Let Sleeping Perros Lie," *Miami Herald*, 26 July 1987, sec. A.
47. "Challenge to Cubans," *Miami Herald*, 27 December 1987, sec. C.
48. "Prisoners to Pitch in at Oakdale," *Miami Herald*, 12 January 1988, sec. A.

by making a point in an indirect fashion, by means of figurative language, a writer can obscure the grounds for actionable libel. If used unconsciously, a trope may make acceptable the injection of opinion into news stories while allowing the journalist to keep intact the illusion of objectivity. What differentiates "conscious" from "unconscious" use is the pattern: the consistency of the target and the effects of the tropes. A major metropolitan daily newspaper is composed of a significant group of writers who all participate in the pattern. "Unconscious" editorializing can be used to explain one individual's style, but it is difficult to generalize this style to an entire group. However, what may emerge over time is a consistent pattern across many writers and editors which would suggest embedded, unconscious, taken-for-granted assumptions that can be as pernicious as the conscious biases of an individual.

Once one recognizes the persistence of tropes, it becomes clear that editorial opinion cannot be compartmentalized and delegated to an editorial page. Tropes provide a publication with a perspective and a personality. Denying this cannot serve a paper's reporters or editorial cartoonists who, if they do not create reality, then certainly re-create it with words and pictures that leave a cumulative impression upon readers. A case of such denial occurred in executive editor Jim Hampton's column of 14 August 1988. Hampton was explaining the *Herald*'s decision not to print drawings by editorial cartoonist Jim Morin, who tried to express his views on controversial former Attorney General Edwin Meese.[49] Morin's cartoons ceased while Meese was considering an appeal that would allow the *Herald*'s sister paper, the *Detroit Free Press*, and the rival *Detroit News* to form a joint operating agreement. Meese's decision would directly affect the financial well-being of the *Miami Herald* and the Knight-Ridder chain. Hampton defended the censorship of Morin as an instance of "conflict of interest." This instance is interesting to note in that it appears to indicate the *Herald* editor's awareness of tropes and their effectiveness.

Journalists cannot pretend that their awareness escapes the larger social and cultural context that produces and validates it. Editors, especially, should be sensitive to the existence of tropes in journalism, for its language is neither value-neutral nor a perfect representation of an objective "truth." Miami, in particular, is a city of exiles where a new and successful immigrant voice or ethos, not predicated on the old model of assimilation, is taking shape.[50] That emerging ethos is creating consternation among the Anglo residents of South Florida and in particular among the *Herald*'s executives, who are overwhelmingly white

49. Jim Hampton, "If This Be Harlotry, I'm Guilty," *Miami Herald*, 14 August 1988, sec. C.

50. *1989 U.S. Hispanic Market* (Miami: Strategy Research Corporation, 1989), 102.

ethnics.[51] The *Miami Herald* is unquestionably the city's main forum of public opinion and is regarded as one of the major newspapers in the United States.[52] The relationship between the *Herald* and Miami's new immigrant communities may serve as a model for other publications as they come to face the new immigrant ethos and the new civic realities it generates. Elevating awareness among readers and journalists of the power of tropes could make us more skeptical of easy conclusions derived from the media. As Ludwig Wittgenstein notes, "A main source of our failure to understand is that we do not command a clear view of the use of our words."[53]

●

51. *Facts About Newspapers* (Washington, D.C.: American Newspaper Publishers Association, 1990), 22.
52. *Editor and Publisher International Yearbook* (New York: Editor and Publisher, 1990).
53. Quoted in Anthony Kenny, *The Legacy of Wittgenstein* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984), 42; see also Ludwig Wittgenstein, *The Blue and Brown Books* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958).

Interview

THE END OF AN ERA AT CBS

A Conversation with Bill Leonard

Michael D. Murray

FOR NEARLY FORTY YEARS, CBS News benefitted from the wit and wisdom of Bill Leonard. His assignments included political reporter, commentator, correspondent, documentary producer, and network executive. He joined CBS in 1945 as a radio reporter and on-air host, then moved to television with a weekly series about New York City, while also reporting for the "CBS Evening News." His early coverage of the underprivileged, the treatment of drug addicts, and the mentally ill earned him the Albert Lasker Award for Medical Journalism in 1956.

At the time, *New York Times* television critic Jack Gould called Leonard a "breath of fresh air," compared to many network bigwigs, adding, "He knows the art of interviewing . . . , he keeps his own face off the screen as much as possible and allows the person being interviewed to have the stage; he doesn't always talk as if his words were being recorded for posterity."

Leonard narrated the Emmy-winning documentary "Harlem —A Self Portrait" in 1959 and was invited to become a "CBS Reports" staff correspondent.

Among other documentaries, he wrote, produced, and narrated "Trujillo: A Portrait of a Dictator" in 1960, for which he won the Ed Stout Award for Outstanding Foreign Reporting. He was put in charge of the CBS News Election Unit in 1962 and assumed the vice presidency of network news programming in 1964. In 1968 he initiated "60 Minutes," and in 1979, promoted to CBS News President, he started "CBS Sunday Morning," and proposed an hour-long national nightly newscast.

When Walter Cronkite decided to retire as CBS anchorman, Leonard negotiated a $22-million, ten-year contract for his successor, Dan Rather. The first executive in company history, other than CBS founder, William S. Paley, to have the organization's retirement limit of age sixty-five pushed aside, Leonard eventually resigned his post as president of CBS News in 1982. He re-

Michael D. Murray is director of mass communication at the University of Missouri-St. Louis. He worked for CBS News and previously taught at Virginia Tech University and the University of Louisville.

ceived the George Foster Peabody Award for Lifetime Achievement in Broadcasting and authored *In the Storm of the Eye: A Lifetime at CBS*, which details his experiences. He is currently director of the Alfred I. DuPont/Columbia University Awards recognizing excellence in broadcast journalism. The following conversation, focusing on documentary television and network news operations, was taped in Winter 1990, at his home in Washington, D.C.

THE CBS TRADITION

Murray: You've always had a kind of bias toward news broadcasters with a newspaper background?

Leonard: Yes, I have, and there is a reason for that. Newspaper people are trained fundamentally—that the number one thing to do is get the facts—to get at the truth or as close to the truth as you can get. After that comes embellishment, sidebar, and color. But what you're trying to do is inform people so that they can make better decisions. Now, television introduces the visual, and the visual element can be so colorful that you can be swept along by that. The truth and facts can easily take a backseat if you're not careful. And if you let a movie director loose without any of that fundamental training—that what you're after is to get the facts—deeply ingrained, he or she can be after the "higher truth," if you will, as they see it; and not bothered by little things like facts—let's not let the facts get in the way. Perhaps, what may come out is a film but not a document. Well, sooner or later, you can become a pleader instead of a reporter, and that, I don't think, is the role that we believed in at CBS News. What I believed in is and I think Dick Salant and Edward R. Murrow and the people who went before me—the great producers, David Lowe, for instance who did "Harvest of Shame," was able somehow to combine the ability to get at the facts and at the same time to make a moving, motion picture—a moving document. Those are the great documentarians who could do one without sacrificing the other.

Murray: In studying the great CBS documentaries like "Harvest of Shame" and some in the "See It Now" series, one of the impressions you get is that in some ways with Murrow and those who followed him, a sort of star system evolved in the sense that the people mentioned—David Lowe and Fred Friendly, for example—did a lot of the work on those but received little credit. Do you think that was a positive development?

Leonard: No I don't think it was particularly good. But it was necessary, I think, speaking as someone who grew up as a correspondent, who was used to being on air. I had little background and when I started producing documentaries, I was a

little disappointed on one occasion when Fred Friendly said to me that he wanted Ed Murrow to narrate a documentary I did. I always thought that I was a pretty good narrator and a pretty good broadcaster. I swallowed my pride and Ed did it. But I realized his point years later when I had to make the same decision about other documentaries and other producers who wanted to narrate their own documentaries. That was when I felt that a documentary needed a Walter Cronkite or Charles Kuralt or somebody like that. What you're trying to do is convey the maximum amount of information in the most effective way, and that sometimes a well-known voice that people have confidence in and know, can give a documentary an extra dimension. Now "60 Minutes" is built more or less on that principle, but it is impossible for the leading correspondents to do all the work on those stories. Although they sometimes do a lot of the work. They do maybe a week's work on something that takes six weeks. But they are involved. It's better to have their voice and their picture and the combination. But is it something of a deceit? Yes, it is; because the impression is that it's just them, when in actuality, in spite of the fact that you show credits, it's more than one person.

Murray: You told me once before that even though major figures at CBS functioned as correspondents on key documentaries, they didn't play a major role in the documentaries. I guess that's true in most cases?

Leonard: It is true in a lot of them. Other correspondents played a very major role. When I did a documentary at the start of my career, I did almost everything. I did that documentary on Trujillo that got some attention, and I was about the only one working on it. I wrote it, directed it, and narrated it. It was almost a one-man job. But later on, I don't think that happened as much. What usually happens is that a producer and perhaps an assistant or associate work for a long time and a correspondent works for a shorter time and is there a good deal, but not all of the hard work.

Murray: Was the Trujillo documentary the most demanding assignment you got?

Leonard: That was the toughest one I ever did. It was very tough, because I definitely never thought I was going to get him. On the whole, we invested a great deal of my time and the crew's time in the Dominican Republic with the topic of the notorious dictator—nobody had ever interviewed him. Basically, we approached it with the idea that if we showed up and spent a lot of time down there, showing faith that we were really serious about covering him, that maybe he'd show up and let us do him. It was

a long-shot bet and it did pay off. We got the interview, and it just made the documentary.

Murray: When you were a reporter, did the CBS management ever get anxious about that kind of thing—sending somebody out in the field for an extended period of time and spending a lot of the company's money?

Leonard: No. We were very insulated from that. They left Fred Friendly alone. I don't know whether we had such a thing as a budget. But he made the bet in this case and sent me down there. I never knew how much it was costing. And I know I invested the better part of a year and out of it, I finally got the interview.

Murray: I thought it was interesting, what you said about "60 Minutes," because a lot of those people—Don Hewitt, Palmer Williams, and Joe Wershba, working behind the scenes—were actually at CBS in the "covered wagon age" of broadcast news and some of them are still at it at "60 Minutes." It's ironic that the public sees a litany of "stars" going through the system in front of the camera, but they don't really get to know the people behind the scenes who are really making things happen.

Leonard: Well, "60 Minutes" without Don Hewitt wouldn't exist. "60 Minutes" with Don Hewitt is the fastball pitch. He keeps that engine running.

Murray: Do you remember the instance you gave about the broadcast that you did a lot of work on that Ed Murrow wound up narrating? Do you remember what that was about?

Leonard: It was a documentary called "Is This Election Already Rigged?" It was about gerrymandering and it's a tough subject anyway. And I think Fred felt he needed all of the presence for a subject as dull as that, that Ed Murrow could give it.

Murray: Do you think Murrow's role in all of this—his influence in broadcast news is overblown? Do you think he's gotten more credit than he deserves?

Leonard: No. Ed Murrow was a remarkable force; a remarkable person. Superficially, the most remarkable thing about Ed Murrow was his voice, which was unique. It had a resonance, but that was really, of course, minor. His absolutely pure-blue-flame integrity was important, and his courage—his absolute standards. He was a fine broadcaster; a good writer; not the greatest writer, just a very, very good one. But he had an absolute standard of integrity that shone through and he had all of the courage that a man can have.

Murray: Did it ever bother you that he wasn't a newspaperman? I guess after a while you got over it.

Leonard: No, it didn't bother me. It didn't bother me because he would have been a fine newspaperman. There were some people that just rose above that. I wasn't a newspaperman for all that long; but I started out on a college newspaper right away and those were my standards—that is how I was trained. It's because I just didn't have anything else, that's all. But I understood that Ed Murrow and a lot of people who did well in this game and didn't sacrifice their standards, had a little bit of show business bred into them somehow. Now Murrow you recall, spent a lot of time in college as an actor. Walter Cronkite was a sportscaster. He even did re-creations. There's a little bit of actor in him. At Dartmouth, I was very much involved in college dramatics, and when I got out of college, I had to decide whether I would become an actor or go into the newspaper business.

Murray: I guess having that kind of exposure, plus the performance background people like yourself and Walter Cronkite had as kids—sportscasting and even re-creating events for radio—that must have helped later on with convention coverage and that kind of thing. Did you give Mr. Cronkite specific things to research for conventions? How did it work?

Leonard: No, I didn't do any such thing. He was the best. He was a guy who did his own homework. He did all of that himself and he did it in great detail. He would retire three, or four, or five days, making extensive notes about all of the races and all of the people who were going to be involved in the convention and on the floor. He knew a lot of them anyway. He knew the situation; but he would study, as if for an exam. And he would study harder than anyone I ever knew. He really would study for all of them. And he would compile a very, very complete notebook—a large notebook, which he would have with him in the booth. I never saw him refer to it but it was there. He would have almost memorized it. So those things that sounded as if they rolled off the top of his head were things he had studied thoroughly and had committed almost to memory; they were with him. And he just came prepared.

CONVENTION COVERAGE: 1968

Murray: At the Democratic convention in Chicago in 1968, you had big problems. How did you handle them?

Leonard: It was extremely difficult. We had two things happening at once. We had a city that was—not in flames; but rioting was going on outside the hall. We had a convention inside the hall. We had the police trying to keep us from covering the story outside. It was an extremely difficult thing to handle.

Murray: You were running not only CBS News coverage; but that was the start of the News Election Service—coordinating coverage for other news organizations. How did that get going?

Leonard: The News Election Service started after the 1964 election, when we had mounted at CBS such a large private effort to both collect the votes and to use survey methods to determine very quickly who had won, that the Associated Press and UPI, in effect, gave up the ghost and came to us and said, "Listen. We better do this together, because it's too expensive to do it separately. And anyway, we can't compete with you guys anymore." That really got started after the primary election in California in 1964.

Murray: It's kind of unusual that print people were willing to concede that.

Leonard: It was an extraordinary concession. They had just run out of the ability and the money to do as much as we could do. And so we all got together. We had to get Justice Department permission to have a consortium to collect the vote. And we all got together and formed the News Election Service.

Murray: During the 1968 Democratic convention, when Cronkite said, "It looks like we've got a bunch of thugs out here"—how did you react to that? You were in charge; were you shocked that he would say that; or were you pretty much fed up yourself?

Leonard: Well, I think we were all rather—well, not shocked by what he said. Walter was a human being, and the way the police were behaving in Chicago at that time—that's exactly what they were behaving like. I won't say the rioters weren't behaving like a bunch of thugs, too; but the police, particularly, were behaving very badly and very brutally at that time in Chicago. Later, of course, they called it a "police riot." So what Cronkite said was pretty much confirmed by the official investigation. And no, I had worse things to worry about at the time. It was a very tense situation. We didn't know if all our men in the field were in danger. We didn't know what the police would do for us. It was a bad scene out there and, furthermore, we did not have the support of our affiliates at that time—of our own people or the country, who basically felt that anything the police did to suppress the rioters or demonstrators was good. They thought that what we were doing was siding with the left-wing demonstrators. So we had a problem on our hands with our own affiliates and with the public. But we had to do it the way we saw it.

Murray: Did Mr. Paley say anything to you about the 1968 convention coverage?

Leonard: No, not a word. I never got any feedback from him on that.

POLITICS OF MANAGEMENT

Murray: Mr. Paley passed away recently and there have been a lot of things written about him. In his biography, *Empire*, the author, Lewis Paper, quotes a source saying he was very persistent, and he quotes you as saying he could be ruthless, especially in personal matters, I'm paraphrasing, in getting rid of people, even if he cared for them. He viewed himself as an army general during wartime. Is that a necessary evil for a broadcast manager—that they really have to be hard-nosed?

Leonard: Everyone is different. Paley was extremely tough in that regard. He had his own way of doing things and nobody—almost nobody—lasted with Paley.

Murray: In a couple of the books about CBS, you pick up the theme that he would periodically conclude about lieutenants that "This person is getting just a little big for their britches," you know, and that person would be gone in short order.

Leonard: Whether he thought they were too big for their britches or whether they never quite lived up to what he hoped they would become—whatever the reason, one way or another, sooner or later, they fell by the wayside—whether they were president or not. Actually the higher you got, the more danger you were in. If you were a little below the salt, you could be there for years. People say to me, "Well, you lasted." And I think the reason that I lasted is that I only got to the top, if you will, at the very end of my career, not at the middle of it. If I'd gotten too high up at CBS News when I was forty-five or fifty years old, I'd probably been out of there. It happened all the time.

Murray: But most of the guys were, more or less, professional managers. You'd done a lot of different things in broadcasting. You represented CBS here in the capital and all that over an extended period of time?

Leonard: Yes, but it didn't much matter what you were or who you were. Correspondents he let go on forever, but once you got into the management game it was different. Once you became manager and you were in the flow or under his eye fairly directly, it was different. If you were a person who dealt with Paley on a daily basis, sooner or later, you made a mistake. And he was very unforgiving of mistakes. If you didn't stand up to him, you were in trouble, because you would probably lead him down the wrong path. If you knew what you were doing and he had a bad idea (which he frequently had) and you didn't oppose it, you'd lead him down a trail that would embarrass him and he

would say to himself "Why didn't he stop me from doing that?" So you were in trouble then. If you stood up to him, and sooner or later, you'd stand up to him and he'd say "All right, if that's the way you want it," and now if you were wrong—then you were in serious trouble. He was a very difficult guy to work for; but he was intelligent. He was smart and asked perceptive questions. He also asked, sometimes, almost off-the-wall questions that were preposterous. You couldn't believe how bad they were. You couldn't believe that a man who was so involved and knew so much, could ask a stupid question as he would sometimes ask. Then, the next minute, he would ask a question that was so perceptive that you couldn't believe you overlooked it. So he would keep you off-guard. And because he was so powerful, those things scared you to death. But he was also very entertaining, very warm, very sympathetic, very attractive, and just an interesting man.

Murray: One of the CBS books said that Paley gave the staff a different impression. It said the staff got the view that he was kind of a quiet person. But the way you describe him makes it sound like he could be really domineering.

Leonard: Well, he wasn't. He was rather quiet. I recall a time when we were all having the argument over whether we would pay Dan Rather as much as his agent was asking and he hadn't said much. First, expressing terrible shock, then telling that little story about the people he acquired for the network in the early days at CBS, saying "Well, I guess sometimes the most expensive things are the cheapest in the long run—and the cheapest things are the most expensive."

Murray: When you told Paley he could expect that the CBS News ratings would go down after Dan Rather took over, did he ever come back and say, " OK, I understand that we'll have a down period." Did he follow up and ask, "When can we expect to come back?"

Leonard: No. You told him that, but he really was very unhappy when the ratings went down, no kidding. He really didn't want to sit still for that at all.

Murray: But you covered yourself by saying "This is likely to happen"?

Leonard: Likely to happen? We knew it was going to happen. But he made it very uncomfortable and was very unhappy.

CHANGES AT THE NETWORK

Murray: It sounded from your book that part of the deal of getting Dan Rather as anchorman was complicated by other

offers he was getting. It looked like, "Well, if we lose him, we've lost one of our big hitters." At the same time, it didn't sound like the other competitor for the job, Roger Mudd, played it that way. He came across as being much more independent but if he had done the same thing and looked around for other offers—if he had gone to negotiate with another network, do you think he would have been better off?

Leonard: I don't know. My first idea was the best. I would have liked to have had him as a duel-anchor with Dan Rather. But Mudd didn't feel Rather was in his class, and he didn't think they ought to do a duel-anchor. I probably should have spent more time trying to persuade him to do that.

Murray: Did you get a lot of feedback from the public on that decision? What about feedback in general to broadcasts over the years?

Leonard: Of all the broadcasts we ever did, the one that I personally got the most mail on (because somebody in the press used my name) was "The Guns of Autumn." I got thirty-eight thousand letters on that.

Murray: Is that because the National Rifle Association organized it?

Leonard: Yes. I was very proud of that broadcast, by the way. I thought it was terrific. It was my idea to do it, and I thought we did it extremely well. I didn't think you could lay a finger on that broadcast. I think that was one of the reasons it was so effective. It wasn't preachy. It just laid the facts out there.

Murray: Do you remember if any of those letters you received on that broadcast came from major figures—movers and shakers or government officials?

Leonard: No. They were mostly form letters from people involved in hunting.

Murray: When that many letters hit you—when that volume comes in, if it says something critical, you have to take it seriously, right?

Leonard: No. I knew not to take it seriously because I knew that represented a lot of people who believed very much that something that they liked was being threatened. It showed how effective the broadcast had been, so it didn't bother me.

Murray: On the issue of the decision making at the network—in news, for example, how did the title of managing editor get established?

Leonard: I didn't have anything to do with that. In the first place, it's a meaningless term. I didn't like the term particularly. On the plus side, it's a symbol that says the person who is presenting the news is deeply involved in the selection of the news. And that's a good thing. On the other side of the coin, it suggests that the correspondent is a manager, and a correspondent is not a manager. A correspondent is a news person there to collect the news and not to manage or organize the management of how it's done. But as a practical matter, Walter wanted and had earned the right to use that title. He was, indeed, very much involved in the production, the writing, selection, and editing of the news. Just the evening news, nothing else. He never got into another thing. I felt that it was something you earned and Walter had earned it. When the negotiations for Dan Rather came on, I didn't think that Rather had earned the title. I didn't want to give it to him, and it was one of the main sticking points of the negotiation. I had to give in on it; and I didn't want to.

Murray: You were involved in a lot of tough management calls like that. I read where Mr. Paley told you that he appointed Fred Friendly news chief at one point because he thought the place needed some shaking up. Do you think Paley regretted that later on since Friendly was such an active, independent person?

Leonard: Yes. I think he regretted it. But he did a lot of things like that and later on regretted it. Sure, if he didn't regret it, he wouldn't have let him go.

Murray: Everyone in the news division was backing Friendly, right? In fact, in one of the CBS books it says that you were all willing to leave the company right along with him.

Leonard: Sure, Fred Friendly was my boss. Remember, Fred Friendly had taken me when I was a local broadcaster—I had been for twenty years. I had a good job but didn't amount to much.

Murray: It seemed to me like you pretty much owned New York as a reporter and were doing well financially.

Leonard: I was doing much better. I had a very good job, and it looked like I would do that for the rest of my life. But Fred Friendly thought that I should be doing more. I'd be at political conventions as a local reporter, and after each convention, and in 1952, CBS News would come to me and say that they wanted me to be a correspondent. But after every convention they would offer me less than half of what I was making in local television. And I couldn't go back to my wife and say I've just been made a CBS correspondent and I'm going to have my salary cut in half.

So I continued to do what I was doing until Fred Friendly insisted and made it possible. When he became president of CBS News he said: "You've got to decide one way or the other what you're going to do." He said, "I want you to do this, that's all." So I owed my career to Fred Friendly. There wasn't any question about where my loyalties would be. He had been very good to me.

Murray: He also comes across as the man behind Edward R. Murrow

Leonard: No. He wasn't.

Murray: How come Murrow used to, not defer to him, but always—when things got tough, say, "Fred Friendly and I think . . . ." Again, today, you would never hear anything like that.

Leonard: Now that was him being very careful to give Fred credit. And he was being very kind to give Fred credit. They did do things together.

Murray: I wonder why that never happens anymore? Nobody would know about behind-the-scenes contributors—even major ones? Again, isn't that part of a star system?

Leonard: No. I think under the right circumstances, it would happen that way. It was Murrow's nature to be fair and he was. Fred was the engine behind a lot of the stuff they were doing. Ed was a little embarrassed, sometimes, as to how little he did, to tell you the truth. To see it now, he did do a lot more of the reporting than others. He was just giving credit where credit was due.

CHALLENGES OF CHANGE

Murray: Why aren't we seeing any hard-hitting documentaries on CBS and elsewhere? Has journalism's ability or the commitment to it declined with the retirement of so many people over the last few years?

Leonard: There were other people besides me who had the same standards that were very important at CBS News in the whole documentary area. Bob Chandler and Bud Benjamin. And they're gone. Bud retired and died. Bob Chandler left. Those were the main ones. When the three of us and our influence pulled out of there, I would think that that would make a considerable difference. I don't think there was anyone else who—if they knew, they didn't care; and if they cared, they didn't know.

Murray: Do you think it's likely that anybody would come along

with the same kind of background and orientation to reestablish that tradition? You were a reporter and had that background.

Leonard: I want to take that back. I think Howard Stringer carried on pretty much in that tradition, although without quite as strong a journalism background. But I think he was pretty much trained by us; but he moved on so quickly to other responsibilities that there wasn't time to put in other people under him who could really do the job.

Murray: When you launched "Sunday Morning," did you know how that would develop?

Leonard: Yes, I did. "Sunday Morning" was launched right in the next room. The staff came down on a Sunday morning, sat down, and I told them how I wanted "Sunday Morning" to work. We talked about it for two hours, and it turned out exactly the way we planned it.

Murray: Did you know right away that Charles Kuralt would be the best one to do that?

Leonard: Yes. If he'd do it.

Murray: Did you have any trouble getting him to?

Leonard: Surprisingly, I think he liked the idea, but I wasn't sure.

Murray: Do you ever look back and think that maybe Kuralt would have been a good person to replace Walter Cronkite on the "CBS Evening News"?

Leonard: Yes. I think if the negotiations with Rather had collapsed that's probably what we would have done, although who knows. I guess it would have been all right, but Kuralt didn't like the politics. He didn't like great events coverage. He didn't like being the anchorman. He couldn't have anchored the Gulf situation. He could have anchored the evening news. But he couldn't have been your front man and your key man with the tough, on-going assignments.

Murray: Just wasn't oriented that way?

Leonard: Just didn't like it.

Murray: One of your dreams was to expand the national news to an hour. Do you think that will ever happen?

Leonard: No.

Murray: It just isn't feasible?

Leonard: No. The public just doesn't want it.

Murray: The CBS book by Peter Boyer discusses a 1981 meeting in Hawaii and says the network affiliates gave you a really hard time about an hour news expansion proposal?

Leonard: They sure as hell did.

Murray: Do you see that as a really symbolic meeting, as far as killing off prospects for expansion are concerned?

Leonard: That's right. Absolutely. If it was ever going to go, it was going to go then, and we thought we had it. But they just wouldn't do it.

Murray: What about public affairs programming? Any signs of life in that area?

Leonard: As far as documentaries are concerned, it's been a long time since a documentary shook up the country. I could mention a half-dozen that shook up the country over a period of twenty-five years, from the McCarthy broadcast right to the "Guns of Autumn." The country paid attention to those. How long has it been since a documentary really stopped people, made them think, and had an impact?

Murray: I thought the one Bill Moyers did on young parents—mostly inner city kids, a couple of years ago—was well-done but it didn't have the kind of public impact you're talking about. I really don't think it was promoted properly.

Leonard: Well, that's part of what I'm talking about.

Murray: Do you think the fact that so many other kinds of things are available—programs like "60 Minutes" or "48 Hours," does that have an effect?

Leonard: The trouble with "48 Hours" is that it lacks content. It has no content.

Murray: Is that because it's hard to turn out quality on a weekly basis?

Leonard: No. It isn't that at all. It *is* hard to turn out on a weekly basis but it's mostly because nobody is saying, "What are we trying to do? What are we trying to get at?" There's no content. There's no journalism in "48 Hours"—none at all! "48 Hours" skims but it doesn't ever go into any depth.

Murray: It's more like show biz?

Leonard: It's voyeurism; it isn't journalism. It's O.K. It's pleasant, but it doesn't make you mad. It doesn't make you upset.

Murray: In a couple of these CBS books, the authors point to the funeral of Charles Collingwood as another symbolic event when the old guard got together and that marked the demise of the old CBS. That was presented as a symbolic ending of that era. Is that the way it was?

Leonard: I think so. I mean, I think that's as good a time to say it ended as any. Look, things pass. Eras pass and companies don't last very long. Few companies last more than a hundred years—good ones don't last fifty years. Extraordinary ones last a hundred years. Businesses change—conditions change and this situation is no different. At CBS News, I think we had a dream that the news division would continue to get better. It isn't getting better. It's still pretty good and I'm still loyal to CBS, but that era is over.

●

BOOK REVIEWS

PHOTOJOURNALISM AND THE HISTORIANS

Dona Schwartz
University of Minnesota

IN 1989, THE 150th anniversary of photography's invention was celebrated with numerous exhibitions and a proliferation of new books about the history of photography. Regrettably, photojournalism has received scant attention from historians, and the anniversary resulted in only a few new additions to the literature: Marianne Fulton's *Eyes of Time*, and *In Our Time*, a mammoth catalogue produced in conjunction with an exhibition of photography by members of Magnum, the international picture agency. Over the years documentary photography has fared somewhat better than photojournalism, mostly due to the attention devoted to Farm Security Administration photography, and James Curtis's *Mind's Eye, Mind's Truth* adds to that literature. In recent years, cultural historians have begun making contributions to the history of photography, usefully extending an intellectual domain that has been narrowly mapped. Both Alan Trachtenberg's *Reading American Photographs: Images as History, Mathew Brady to Walker Evans* and James Guimond's *American Photography and the American Dream* exemplify this approach.

Scholarly neglect has made photojournalism, omnipresent in the mass media, all but invisible in the academic literature. So strange a situation can only be understood through an acquaintance with the emergence of photographic history itself. Photography has always straddled an uncomfortable line between art and technology, and photographic history reflects this tension. Because photography is a picture-making medium that utilizes a mechanical device—a camera—its proper niche has been disputed, raising the question whether the history of photography should be chronicled by scholars of technology, or scholars of pictorial communication.

Histories taking technological innovation as their focus have been the more clearly conceptualized of these two divergent approaches, resulting in several worthwhile contributions, among them Josef Eder's *History of Photography* (Columbia University Press, 1945), Reese Jenkins's *Images and Enterprise* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975), and Robert Taft's *Photography and the American Scene* (Dover, 1938). The historical literature that frames photography as pictorial communication is far less satisfying.

Art history, the dominant scholarly paradigm influencing the study of visual images, has had a profound influence on what has emerged, defining the field of photographic history for several generations. Early advocates of photography's status as art actively campaigned for this conceptual niche, and Alfred Stieglitz is often credited with the art establishment's eventual acceptance of photography as a fine art form. Stieglitz's influential journal, *Camera Work*, and

Books Reviewed in This Essay

MIND'S EYE, MIND'S TRUTH: FSA PHOTOGRAPHY RECONSIDERED. By James Curtis. Temple University Press, 1989. 152 pp. $34.95, Cloth.

EYES OF TIME: PHOTOJOURNALISM IN AMERICA. Edited by Marianne Fulton. Bulfinch, 1989. 336 pp. $40, Cloth.

AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY AND THE AMERICAN DREAM. By James Guimond. University of North Carolina Press, 1991. 341 pp. $39.95, Cloth; $17.95, Paper.

IN OUR TIME: THE WORLD AS SEEN BY MAGNUM PHOTOGRAPHERS. By William Manchester. Norton, 1989. 456 pp. $59.95, Cloth.

READING AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHS: IMAGES AS HISTORY, MATHEW BRADY TO WALKER EVANS. By Alan Trachtenberg. Hill and Wang, 1990. 320 pp. $11.95, Paper.

his galleries showcased photography within a fine-arts context, lending credibility to claims made for the medium's own elite status. By 1940, in recognition of photography's place among contemporary art media, the Museum of Modern Art appointed Beaumont Newhall its first photography curator. In 1937 Newhall had organized a major exhibition of photographic art at MOMA, and in 1938 he published *Photography: A Short Critical History*, a volume drawn from the show. Newhall's history of photography became the definitive work, providing the archetype for future endeavors by American scholars.

Newhall revised his early history, and five successive editions have been published as *The History of Photography: 1839 to the Present*. It is worth noting that photojournalism earned no significant mention until a chapter appeared in the most recent edition, updated in 1982. After all, Newhall's immediate goal was to produce an *art history* of photography, rather than a comprehensive catalogue of photographic activity. His historical narrative intertwines two threads, a chronicle of technological innovations woven together with a discussion of an emerging, distinctive photographic vision, worthy of aesthetic delectation. Histories of non-photographic art media have rarely been framed in this way, even though every artist employs some productive tools (imagine the novelty of devoting chapters of a history of American painting to the brushes and paints available to artists of different generations), but photo-historians have routinely foregrounded the role of technology in the production of the image. While the evolution of photo-technology provides a consistent, organizing narrative element, it is the artistry evidenced in the photographer's work that draws the most sustained attention. In order to establish and maintain photography's position among the fine arts, this has been a key strategy.

Until the 1980s only one other major photographic art history had been published, Helmut and Alison Gernsheim's *The History of Photography* (Oxford University Press, 1955) and their approach paralleled Newhall's, offering the reader a trek through previously travelled territory. The meager offerings that have constituted the history of photography have produced an intellectual hegemony hard to shake off. Because the history of photography has been framed as either science or art, both documentary and photojournalism have been pushed to the perimeters of the literature, leaving a gaping whole for scholars to fill. The dominant art historical paradigm has generated its own exclusive canon of photographic notables, making it possible for casual students of the medium to "know" photographic history by memorizing a finite number names and dates. Yet despite efforts to draw a clear line between explicitly artistic photography and other kinds of photographic activity, a handful of photographers working within what might be loosely termed an "informational" mode have been granted entry into the canon, where they stand shoulder to shoulder with their more formalist peers.

Mathew Brady, portraitist and Civil War chronicler, along with Timothy O' Sullivan, Alexander Gardner, and George Barnard, all offer early examples of American reportorial work, and they routinely figure into art historical narratives. Jacob Riis and Lewis Hine, turn-of-the-century photographers who used the medium to advocate progressive social agendas, both appear with regularity in art histories of photography. The informational line of succession leads from these early documentarians to members of the photographic unit of the Farm Security Administration, photographers like Walker Evans, Arthur Rothstein, and Dorothea Lange. Discussions of American magazine photography begin with early *Life* staffers Margaret Bourke-White and Alfred Eisenstadt, culminating in the photo-essays of W. Eugene Smith. The strange sensibility of press photographer Arthur Fellig (a.k.a.

Weegee) drew the attention of art historians to his work, and he is one of the few newspaper photojournalists discussed. These few photographers have carried the burden of elliptically representing the entire field of American photojournalism. The logic governing the inclusion or exclusion of press photographers and documentarians eludes even the most careful student of photographic history, but regardless of the criteria used, once a photographer's work enters the annals, it is used to represent the pinnacles of photographic virtuosity attainable by gifted practitioners.

This prevailing approach to photographic history has only recently been challenged. The emergence of a body of photography criticism examining the tension between aesthetic formalism and political engagement has attempted to lay bare the hegemony of the art world and its constraining influence on artistic production. The long-standing emphasis on aesthetic formalism, and the simultaneous rejection of overt social relevance, propelled reportorial photography to the periphery. But recent art trends have shifted attention to mass media and reportage, and media imagery itself has become the subject of and material for some art photographers' work. This shift has also encompassed photojournalism: as a result of the recent clamor for more relevant art, photojournalism has become increasingly exhibitable in art world contexts. This brief moment of appreciation, roughly coinciding with photography's 150th anniversary, produced a window of opportunity for new scholarship.

Marianne Fulton's *Eyes of Time: Photojournalism in America* appeared in 1988, to accompany an exhibition mounted by the International Museum of Photography at the George Eastman House. Like Newhall's *History of Photography*, *Eyes of Time* represents the efforts of a curator of photography to provide a scholarly vantage point from which to view an exhibition. Even the format of the book follows Newhall's, an outsized folio with chapters that break the years from 1839 to 1986 into coherent chunks of photo-history. Fulton solicited contributions from other curators: William Stapp, curator of photography at the National Portrait Gallery, and Sandra Phillips, curator of photography at the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art. Phillips's chapter is co-authored with Colin Osman, former editor and publisher of *Creative Camera*. Photo-historian Estelle Jussim contributes a chapter as well. Rather than provide her own authoritative overview knitting the entire volume together, as Newhall did, Fulton herself assumes responsibility for the period between 1930 and the present, contributing two of the book's five chapters.

Taken as a whole, *Eyes of Time* closely follows its historical predecessors, interweaving a chronological narrative about significant historical events, the photographers who visualized them, and the technologies they had at their disposal. Like Newhall's, Fulton's history is painted in broad strokes, providing an overview of vast, uncharted terrain, but despite the new material it offers it still leaves the reader hungry for more. Just as Newhall's history demonstrated the inevitability of holes appearing in such a monumental tapestry, *Eyes of Time* suggests the many fruitful avenues for further research and writing. Given the deficit it addresses, Fulton's work is an extremely valuable contribution, likely to set the agenda for future work in the field.

Yet, while *Eyes of Time* represents an extraordinarily ambitious effort to provide a comprehensive account of American photojournalism, there is still a degree of conservatism in the picture selections, a concern with asserting a curatorial conception of the "best" photojournalism. But choosing any sample of press photographs is necessarily a daunting and difficult task, given the overwhelming, ever-burgeoning supply of pictures. From which media outlets should the curator draw? The most logical procedure, the route chosen by Fulton, is to review photo-agency and wire service

files. Yet such a selection process artificially delimits the field. What represents the best is ultimately an artifact of the pragmatics of the selection process and the distinctive criteria employed by the curator. Considering the fact that Fulton's work will help to define the emerging canon of photojournalism, the selection strategies used by curators and historians warrant scrutiny. Since scholars most often tend to expand upon already existing lines of research, rather than break new ground, the photographers Fulton omits will most likely linger in the shadows of photojournalism history.

Another recent addition to the literature, *In Our Time: The World As Seen by Magnum Photographers*, has less to do with history than with exaltation. A hefty tome, it was commissioned, like *Eyes of Time*, to accompany an exhibition, this one mounted by Magnum Photos to celebrate the agency's own fortieth anniversary. An air of congratulatory self-aggrandizement pervades the book, an assemblage of three essays about the history of Magnum with reproductions of prints represented in the exhibition. William Manchester, Jean de la Couture, and Fred Ritchin wrote the essays, each of which seeks in some way to assert the special status of Magnum among the rank and file of photo-agencies. What is sacrificed in attention to significant historical scholarship is more than made up for in effusive praise for members of the agency, their pictures, and their politics. While the coherence and substance of the essays improves with the final contribution from Fred Ritchin, the primary result of a read through *In Our Time* is an inflated sense of reverence for Magnum.

Viewed pragmatically, the exhibition and book offered the agency a valuable opportunity for self-promotion, an opportunity exploited by savvy Magnum members. It should be noted, though, that the whole enterprise generated bitter disputes within the agency over what direction the project should take. When the dust settled and the book fell into place, the three essays that emerged followed a similar pattern. Each author's chronicle of the agency's vibrant past can be distilled to its essence: an attempt to erect a canon of meritorious photojournalism, with Magnum ensconced at its pinnacle. It takes no special insight to ferret out this program—the essays are all quite explicit in this regard. And it may well be that the special value of *In Our Time* lies in the example it provides, demonstrating the powerful influence of art-world norms on the analysis and evaluation of photojournalism.

While monographs profiling the work of contemporary photojournalists are on the rise, *Eyes of Time* and *In Our Time* represent the newest historical contributions to the meager literature on photojournalism. The obvious inference to be drawn is that photojournalism offers fertile territory for new work—every addition is welcomed by readers hungry to learn more about the emergence and evolution of this pervasive medium of mass communication. Even though very little new scholarship addresses photojournalism, the photographic archive produced by the photographers of the Farm Security Administration repeatedly receives attention from historians. This imagery draws research for a variety of reasons, among them accessibility: FSA photographs are cataloged and archived at the Library of Congress, and thus they provide a centrally located, pre-defined, and organized body of material, unlike newspaper or magazine photography. In addition, a literature legitimizing the historical significance and the artistic merit of FSA photography already exists, allowing scholars to extend a research tradition with an already substantial foundation. Photojournalism lacks both of these attractions.

James Curtis's *Mind's Eye, Minds Truth: FSA Photography Reconsidered* adds an interesting and worthwhile new chapter to the literature on FSA photography. He starts from what should be an obvious premise: that photographs express *authored* truths, truths that emerge from the convergence of specific

individuals working within specific institutions at a specific point in time and space. Instead of perpetuating the popular fiction that suggests photographs offer unmediated recordings of the world, Curtis takes the reader behind the scenes to discover the concrete circumstances that shaped the appearances of some of the most famous FSA photographs. His spade work through Library of Congress archives and files will enable other scholars to offer concrete evidence to support claims (often greeted with skepticism) that even the most authoritative documentary photograph may not be exactly what it seems. Curtis effectively deconstructs cultural icons produced by FSA photographers, images like Dorothea Lange's "Migrant Mother," reducing them from the myths they have become to the concrete efforts of individual photographers who labored within the requirements of Roy Stryker's government photographic unit.

While very little scholarship has enhanced our understanding of the professional practices and institutions producing rank-and-file press photography, work like Curtis's expands the range of interpretive strategies available to those concerned with the analysis of texts—the photographs themselves. Moving beyond a formalist art historical reading that foregrounds the aesthetics of the image, Curtis suggests that photo-historians can view pictures as artifacts of culture, primary historical data that encode the cultural norms and values of a particular time and place.

This is precisely the vantage point offered by Alan Trachtenberg's *Reading American Photographs* and James Guimond's *American Photography and the American Dream*. Although it may be more accurate to situate their endeavors within the domain of American studies, because each concerns himself with American culture, their analyses are built upon rigorously contextualized scrutiny of American photography. Operating from the same premise as does Curtis, Trachtenberg and Guimond argue that photographs provide evidence about the culture that gives rise to them, and thus encode more than the subject standing before the lens. Both books make fascinating reading because they situate photographs and photographers within a rich context. The reader gains an appreciation for the productive influences shaping the imagery and, most importantly, the symbolic environment in which their meanings first took hold.

Guimond offers a rather more adventuresome journey than Trachtenberg, however. In his pursuit of the rise and fall of the American dream as represented in documentary photography, he draws attention to photography often ignored by mainstream histories and even goes so far as to analyze the work of some recent documentarians whose pictures have not yet been fully legitimized in the scholarly literature or the marketplace. Trachtenberg, on the other hand, returns to old plums—among them Mathew Brady's *The Gallery of Illustrious Americans*, and Walker Evans's *American Photographs*—and gives them each a new spin. But still present, undergirding the analyses offered by each of these authors, is the conviction that the photographs and photographers examined exemplify the best in American photography, work worthy of scholarly attention. Guimond goes the extra mile to distance the subjects of his analysis, *real* documentarians whose work is published in books, from photographers working within the constraints of commercial newspapers and magazines.

The unfortunate attitude most scholars express towards photojournalism is bluntly put by William Manchester in the opening lines of his essay from *In Our Time:* "As a young *Baltimore Sun* reporter in the years immediately following World War II, I fell easily into the traditional, symbiotic relationship between newspapermen and news photographers. Knowing something of their trade, and eager to know more, I began feeling cameramen out on matter then being discussed in the journals of photography. Their replies were exasper-

atingly vague. Slowly it dawned on me that either they didn't understand my questions or didn't know the answers. It had been naive of me to expect more. Just as journalists and public school teachers comprise America's intellectual proletariat, so do newspaper cameramen occupy the lower rungs of their craft. There are exceptions, but in the main they lack imagination, a sense of composition, and an awareness of what Henri Cartier-Bresson calls the 'decisive moment'—an intuitive gift for knowing precisely when to push the button. The instinct is essential to great photography. You cannot learn it. You cannot fake it. You have to have been born with it, and most of the men lugging Sun Speed-Graphics around didn't even know it existed."(11)

While each of the books reviewed here makes a valuable contribution to an impoverished field of study, each reproduces, and thereby perpetuates, a narrow conception of what warrants study. Reframing documentary photography and photojournalism as mass communication might help to lessen the evaluative urge shaping the scholarship currently emerging. The historical literature's neglect of photojournalism (and narrow view of documentary) stems from an apparent need to validate the subject of study within canonical norms. While Trachtenberg and Guimond, especially, extend the scope of the history American scholars have produced, pioneering historical efforts are still needed to illuminate the past and the future of the pervasive everyday imagery we have been content to ignore. Trachtenberg argues that ordering data into history "is not an idle exercise but a political act, a matter of judgement and choice about the emerging shape of the present and future. . . . Representing the past, photographers serve the present's need to understand itself and measure its future. Their history lies finally in the political visions they may help us realize."(xvii) Trachtenberg's conception of the historical enterprise begs for a more catholic approach. Hopefully this recent body of literature will inspire new scholarship and expand the boundaries of work currently available

●

PUNDITS, POETS, AND WITS: AN OMNIBUS OF AMERICAN NEWSPAPER COLUMNS.
Edited by Karl E. Meyer.
• Oxford University Press
• 1990, 500 pp.
• $24.95, Cloth

FROM THE WISDOM of Benjamin Franklin to the wry humor of Dave Barry, the newspaper column has been a window on the times and tastes of the reading public for more than two hundred years. With wise judgment and a sense of historical perspective, author Karl E. Meyer has selected seventy-two of the United States' most influential wits and sages for this collection.

Meyer, editorial writer for the *New York Times*, was aware that columnists have always been a powerful and persuasive part of newspaper history, but says he was surprised by the number of columnists he discovered in his research. By his count, at least fifteen thousand columnists are composing short, signed articles at regular intervals for periodicals across the country today.

Although this fascinating anthology has a generous sampling of articles by contemporary columnists, Meyer's intent is to track the development of the column from the political offerings of Thomas Paine and James Madison to the humor of Mark Twain, the charm of Joel Chandler Harris, the wisdom of Walter Lippmann and James Reston, and the dry sarcasm of Mike Royko and Russell Baker.

In many instances, the column has represented the highest form of journalism at the time. Many column writers were able to attract a following that built newspaper circulations, and indeed, today's newspapers are realizing anew the potential of local and syndicated columnists to attract fickle audiences. Some of the writers in the anthology—Twain, Walt Whitman, E. B. White—moved into celebrated lit-

erary careers beyond column writing. A few—Royko, Baker, Barry, William Safire, Ellen Goodman, among others—have won Pulitzer Prizes.

What is so remarkable about this collection is its scope and diversity. While many of the columns seem awkward and quaintly anachronistic today, they were appropriate and effective vehicles for discussion in their times.

There is Finley Peter Dunne, whose Dooley dialogues were wildly successful as political commentary at the turn of the century, despite the use of a dialect that can be rather difficult going. This was a notable exception in Meyer's general policy not to include columns based on dialect and misspelled words. Another exception is Kurt Stein's rhymes, written in Chicago Deutsch.

A generous number of articles are classics: Twain meets Czar Alexander II, H. L. Mencken's analysis of Truman's unlikely victory in 1948, Ernest L. Thayer's "Casey at the Bat."

The book also includes samples by Frederick Douglass, Ambrose Bierce, Eugene Field, Ben Hecht, Ring Lardner, Will Rogers, Walter Winchell, Jimmy Breslin, Red Smith, Art Buchwald, I. F. Stone, Erma Bombeck, William F. Buckley, Jr., George Will, and Judith Martin (Miss Manners).

Meyer's introduction provides a useful overview of the column's history and an assessment of the columnists' place in national journalism: "[T]hey have been energetic advocates exerting influence through the quality of their arguments and their independence. They have from time to time added sparkle and sense to the national discourse."

Each entry begins with a brief biography of the columnist, a reference list of the complete works, and a capsule summary of the columnist's significant achievements.

This collection, which Meyer calls the first of its kind, is worthy as a source of both little-known and well-known writings that contributed to much of the cultural literacy of their day.

. . . Jeanne Abbott
California State University, Sacramento

●

MARK TWAIN'S LETTERS, VOLUME 2: 1867–1868.
Edited by Harriet Elinor Smith and Richard Bucci; Lin Salamo, associate editor.
• University of California Press
• 1990, 672 pp.
• $42.50, Cloth

THIS TEXT, WHICH is one volume in the "Mark Twain Papers and Works of Mark Twain" series is edited by members of the "Mark Twain Project," is the second volume of letters to be published.

The text contains letters that were written after Twain had left San Francisco. As an official traveling correspondent for the San Francisco *Alta California*, he had planned to proceed from New York City on a trip around the world. But he stayed in New York City for six months. Then in June 1867, he set sail on the "Quaker City." He saw Europe and the Holy Land before the ship returned to New York City in late November 1867. Among those who had traveled on the ship was Charles J. Langdon, a man of nineteen from Elmira, Connecticut, whom Twain befriended and who introduced Twain to his family, including his older sister Olivia, when they visited New York City later that year. Charles invited Twain to his home in Elmira. However, before he visited the Langdons, Twain had to return to San Francisco. He remained there until he had completed the manuscript entitled *The Innocents Abroad*. In July 1868 he traveled to Hartford, Connecticut, to deliver the manuscript to his publisher, Elisha Bliss. A month later, he visited the Langdons and fell in love with Olivia. Beginning in September, Twain wrote almost every day to Olivia. These typical love letters were the longest letters he had ever written and up to this time were the most intimate and self-examining. As the editors of this volume put it, "Clemens' letters to Olivia . . . document his efforts to rise to her level—to reform his rough habits, overcome his religious skepticism,

and adopt a more conventional, self-consciously Christian way of life."

The text, like the previous volume, contains information about Twain's life, particularly the years in which these letters were written; genealogies of the Clemens and Langdon families; prospectus of the "Quaker City" excursion; names of passengers and crew and itinerary of that ship; the contract for *The Innocents Abroad*; which described his travels abroad and was based partly on the notebook he had used to record his observations and partly on the letters he contributed to various newspapers, including the San Francisco *Alta California*; his lecture schedule for 1868–69; photographs and manuscript facsimiles of relatives and friends, and letters; and a "Guide to Editorial Practice" that explains, "The aim of *Mark Twain's Letters* is to publish, in chronological order, the most reliable and the most legible text possible for every personal and business letter written by (or for) Samuel L. Clemens and to publish the letters he received, selectively, as a part of the annotation."

As mentioned, the editors present each letter in chronological order. The editors' explanations appear in notes appended to the letters or in editorial narratives between them, with cross-references and reidentifications (as necessary) through the index. Any scholar will appreciate the editors' work. The reader learns about the writer from the letters. But more importantly, perhaps, the reader learns about what or to whom the writer was writing from the editors' in-depth explanations.

Also, in textual commentaries at the back of the volume, the editors have provided the following: when and where a letter has been previously published; where and by whom the original documents have been preserved; and how and on what evidence the text of each letter has been established for this edition.

Because the text is 672 pages long, the occasional reader of Twain may not be inclined to purchase the volume. However, the letters with editors' comments occupy 363 pages. If occasional readers become aware of this, they may be inclined not only to purchase the volume, but to thumb through the text as often as the most serious scholars who are devoted to Twain.

. . . Edd Applegate
Middle Tennessee State University

●

THE HOUSE
THE BERRYS BUILT.
By Duff Hart-Davis.
• Hodder and Stoughton
• 1990, 368 pp.
• $16.95, Cloth

DUFF HART-DAVIS'S study of the *Daily Telegraph* refutes the recent criticism by some historians of "the biographical, 'politics and personalities' approach" in the writing of journalism history—all the more so because this book illustrates how first-rate histories of newspapers and periodicals *can* be produced by this "approach." It could be no other way in dealing with the history of the *Daily Telegraph*, which was made by powerful personalities and the politics of the last hundred and fifty years.

The story of the *Telegraph* from its establishment in 1855 through 1945 (previously narrated in Lord Burnham's *Peterborough Court* [1955]) and the rise of the Welsh Berry family, which, after 1928, owned the paper, is covered in the first five chapters and 118 pages. The fate of the *Telegraph* and the fall of the Berry proprietors from 1945 to 1986 are dealt with in the remaining seven chapters and an epilogue in 215 pages. Hart-Davis is primarily interested in telling the story of how the Berrys lost control of this venerable daily paper, which they had run for fifty-seven years "with a single-minded devotion unique among Fleet Street proprietors."(9) The same can be said of their predecessors, the Levy/Lawson family, who, as humble printers and publishers, purchased what was in 1855 a moribund journal and made it a great success in London daily journalism.

The Levy/Lawson dynasty was founded by Joseph Moses Levy, who,

on acquiring the *Daily Telegraph*, set about to make it "the Largest, Best and Cheapest Newspaper in the World." With the help of his brother Lionel and friends in the literary and theatre world, Joseph Levy/Lawson increased the circulation of the paper to the point where it rivalled the *Times* in daily sales. His formula for the great success of the *Telegraph* was giving value for money by "providing maximum information, at minimum expense, to a public whose appetite for facts constantly increased by the spread of education."(29) The *Telegraph* presented wide news coverage, special feature articles, book reviews, theatre criticism, copious accounts of scandalous court cases, and reports from the best news services at home and abroad. Politically, the *Telegraph* moved from Palmerstonian liberalism to Gladstonian liberalism and finally to Disraeli's conservatism. Here it remained and stands to this day a solid Tory newspaper.

Within six years after Levy/Lawson had assumed control, the *Daily Telegraph*'s circulation as a morning paper almost equalled that of all other London papers put together and by 1876 was in excess of a half million weekly. By the late 1880s, the *Telegraph* had become a journal of the highest prestige and had aroused the envy and ire of some newspaper proprietors, including the anti-semitic Henry Labouchere, who made much of Levy/Lawson's Jewish antecedents. Joseph Levy/Lawson died in 1888 and was succeeded by his son Edward, who was made a baronet and later ennobled as the first Lord Burnham, for services to the Tory party and government. Like Joseph Levy/Lawson, Edward's and his son Harry's style of running the paper was paternal, which, Hart-Davis notes, did not make for efficient management and developed into a tradition that "led to disastrous consequences a hundred years later."(38) By 1913, as a result of the high readership of Alfred Harmsworth's *Daily Mail* since 1896 and his purchase and revival of the *Times* since 1908, the circulation and sales of the *Telegraph* had sharply declined. Unfortunately neither Edward Lawson nor Harry (who assumed the management of the paper in 1903) would change or even acknowledge that their property was "going rapidly downhill."(43) Finally, when the circulation of the *Telegraph* had fallen to eighty-four thousand, Harry (since 1916 the second Lord Burnham) was prevailed upon to sell the paper to Sir William Berry (later Lord Camrose), his brother Gomer (later Viscount Kemsley), and Sir Edward Iliffe.

Under the Berrys, the *Telegraph* again flourished as they changed it to appeal to conservative, middle-class readers. The circulation rose to 750,000 per day by 1939 and to over one million by 1947. The *Daily Telegraph* continued to thrive after Michael Berry (Lord Hartwell) succeeded his father, Lord Camrose, in 1954 as proprietor and editor-in-chief. By 1961, the *Sunday Telegraph* was established and both papers prospered during the ensuing two decades. But by the early 1980s, the *Daily Telegraph* was again in trouble as the costs of modernizing the aging printing plant soared, the printer trade union chapels indulged in flagrant feather-bedding, and the obsolete paternalistic management, with its rigid office hierarchy, prevented the staff from apprising Hartwell of the true state of affairs. In fact, this stuffy style of management stifled initiative and drove independent and creative minds away from the paper.

As Hartwell renovated the production and technical sides of the paper and began the construction of a new plant in the London docklands area, he found himself in serious financial difficulty. Too much had been invested in the renovation and construction projects at a time when advertising and circulation revenues were falling. To save the *Telegraph* and get out of the financial trap into which he and the management had stumbled, Hartwell flew to New York to sell some shares in the paper to the Canadian tycoon, Conrad Black. The result was a deal that enabled Black to

secure complete control of the *Daily Telegraph* and thus end the Berry family's ownership of the paper.

It is a fascinating story that Hart-Davis tells so well. What makes the account even more interesting and significant is the fact that he personally witnessed much of what occurred duing the fall of the Berry dynasty and based the story on information obtained from members of the Berry family and former editors, journalists, and managers of the paper. Hart-Davis merits warm thanks for producing an important book.

. . . J. O. Baylen, Emeritus
Eastbourne, England

●

FREEDOM UNDER FIRE: U.S. CIVIL LIBERTIES IN TIMES OF WAR.
By Michael Linfield.
• South End Press
• 1990, 256 pp.
• $40, Cloth; $14, Paper

AT THE END of Michael Linfield's book, *Freedom Under Fire,* his publisher, South End Press, introduces itself as a company that wishes to "meet the needs of readers who are exploring, or are already committed to, the politics of radical social change." Any reader of Linfield's study of American civil liberties during wartime should keep this caveat in mind, for the study is badly marred by a political persuasion that leads the author to paint activities in stark shades of black and white. Unfortunately, the author finds little in the American wartime experience that merits even a touch of gray. Readers thus should be prepared for a sober and highly critical essay.

To a large extent this bias leads to substantial problems for readers who would be interested in tracking the development of freedom of expression during wartime. Granted, the American experience during such periods has not been a glowing testimonial to the values enshrined in the Bill of Rights, but the nation's record has not been a total disaster either.

Despite experiences with repression, Americans have never hesitated to disagree with national policy in wartime. Opponents of war were quite prominent and escaped substantial punishment in the War of 1812, the Mexican War and the Spanish-American War, conflicts that Linfield conveniently bypasses. In addition, beginning with World War I, support for dissenters within the country has grown substantially, until now many antiwar activities are clearly protected by the First Amendment. Linfield carefully sidesteps the development of such protection in his catalogue of national mistreatment of wartime dissenters.

Also, Linfield, a Harvard Law School graduate who is active in civil liberties efforts, twists traditional historical periodization in order to discuss episodes that truly did not occur in wartime. Thus, for instance, the Alien and Sedition Act period becomes part of the Revolutionary War era. He also inappropriately jumbles World War II and the era of the Korean War in one chapter, and in the latter instance he virtually ignores Korean War-related activities in favor of cataloguing Cold War violations of civil liberties. With a little better logic and thinking, he may well have been able to deal with the Cold War under his rubric of "Civil Liberties in Times of War." But he did not make the necessary connections, and the whole chapter is most confusing.

Although much in the book merits significant criticism, readers should not be totally deterred from reading this work. Within its pages, readers will find a sobering, if one-sided, view of the way in which Americans behave in wartime, and the picture is far from pleasant. The nation has long had a propensity for conformity and patriotism in time of national crisis, and those of us who care about the values protected by the First Amendment need to be ever on guard against attempts to restrict those basic freedoms in the case of a national emergency.

The fact that readers should be concerned about such incursions on fundamental freedoms, even when all-out war is not being waged, becomes clear in Linfield's final

chapter. There he discusses the Grenadas and Panamas that dot the pages of recent history. These so-called low-intensity conflicts have included highly publicized incursions on free-press rights. Linfield, however, reminds us that the federal government has plans for wider-ranging actions to limit American freedom of discussion during such incidents. The government simply has not yet put such plans into action.

Thus, although the book suffers from serious flaws in content and reasoning, in the end its message is vital: Those who wish to preserve freedom of expression must be ever vigilant because governments are ready to seize the slightest pretext to limit freedom of expression in wartime. And, says Linfield, current governments are willing to define a variety of activities as war-related in order to allow such limitations.

. . . Margaret A. Blanchard
Univ. of North Carolina

●

ART FOR *THE MASSES*: A RADICAL MAGAZINE AND ITS GRAPHICS, 1911–1917.
By Rebecca Zurier.
• Temple University Press
• 1989, 240 pp.
• $19.95, Cloth

ALTHOUGH THIS IS not a new book, it may have escaped notice by journalism historians because it is a slightly revised version of an exhibition catalogue based on the author's dissertation. An introduction by Leslie Fishbein who wrote *Rebels in Bohemia: The Radicals of* The Masses has been added, but it contributes little that is not covered in Zurier's first chapter tracing the history of *The Masses*.

First published in January 1911 by a Dutch immigrant, Piet Vlag, *The Masses* was a serious monthly magazine "devoted to the interests of the working people" as perceived by Socialist writers, artists, and intellectuals. Financial support for the venture came from Rufus Weeks, an insurance executive and ardent Socialist. In spite of an impressive list of contributors during its first year, the magazine was a financial failure, and Weeks withdrew his subsidy. With limited circulation and inadequate advertising revenue, *The Masses* ceased publication in August 1912.

Magazine staffers led by Art Young decided to continue publishing the magazine without a financial backer. Collective ownership of *The Masses* was instituted with the idea that if the magazine was under no obligation to anyone, anything approved by the group could be published. Soon thereafter, Max Eastman was elected editor, and *The Masses* was reincarnated in December 1912 as "a magazine of pictures and lively writing." Zurier characterizes the change of focus "from uplifting propaganda to more sophisticated social comment" modeled on satiric European magazines of the day. Topics ranged from religious hypocrisy to the role of women to race relations, and current events were interpreted through the perspective of "*The Masses* crowd." The success of *The Masses* in fulfilling its new mission has been well-documented, and the magazine flourished, until the question of U.S. participation in World War I divided the staff and the institution of wartime censorship cost *The Masses* its mailing license.

The second portion of *Art for* The Masses provides background information for consideration of the art. The development of the American Left, the Socialist Party, and the IWW are reviewed. In chapter 3, the author finally focuses on the purpose of this publication: a discussion of the unique contributions made by the artists whose work was published in *The Masses*.

Artists took the lead in revitalizing the publication in 1912, and as art editor, John Sloan played a particularly important role. According to Zurier, "Sloan and his colleagues presented a vision of the working class as a positive entity, worthy of examination in its own right. Whether the artists realized it or not, they were creating pictures almost without precedent in American visual culture." The influence of Daumier and the "Ashcan School"

is discussed and a superb description of the technical problems of reproducing the art is presented. Zurier then places *Masses* art in the context of its own time with a brief discussion of abstract expressionism and the Armory Show.

Art for The Masses includes more than 150 black-and-white illustrations, a selected bibliography, and brief biographies of the best known of *The Masses* artists. The author's notes are thorough and interesting. As with most exhibition catalogues, one wishes to have seen the exhibition because the reproductions in this publication do not do justice to the work. Persons seeking further information on *Masses* artists such as Art Young, Robert Minor, John Sloan, K. R. Chamberlain, and Maurice Becker should see Richard Fitzgerald's *Art and Politics: Cartoonists of* The Masses *and* Liberator (Greenwood, 1973).

A writer commented in 1916 that *The Masses* "has found no trouble in mixing Socialism, Anarchism, Communism, Sinn Feinism, Cubism, Sexism, direct action and sabotage into a more or less homogenous mess. It is peculiarly the product of the restless metropolitan coteries who devote themselves to the cult of Something Else; who are ever seeking the bubble of Novelty at the door of Bedlam." When this "mess" is evaluated by today's readers, the art of *The Masses* has proved itself more durable than much of the writing. This book is a welcome reminder of its excellence.

. . . Lucy Shelton Caswell
Ohio State University

●

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE
By William Allen White. Edited by Sally Foreman Griffith.
• University Press of Kansas
• 1990, 368 pp.
• $29.95, Cloth; $12.95, Paper

THINK OF THE most commonly known figures in American journalism history and names such as John Peter Zenger, Horace Greeley, William Randolph Hearst, Walter Lippmann, or Henry Luce may come to mind. One other that should be on that list is William Allen White, the small-town Kansas editor whose fifty-year career spanned one of the most interesting eras of American history. White was a leading figure in journalism and politics from 1896, when he editorially asked "What's the Matter with Kansas?" to the years before World War II, when he battled isolationism. Originally published in 1944, two years after his death at age seventy-five, this is his story, written in the "success style" of autobiographers such as Benjamin Franklin, P. T. Barnum, and Lee Iacocca.

As editor Sally Foreman Griffith explains, the original edition suffered from a variety of minor flaws due to imperfections that White did not have time to correct before his death, especially in the latter chapters. Her edition is not an attempt to recapture the author's "original" intent nor a repetition of the original. Instead, the goal has been to introduce White to a new generation by making the book easier to obtain and read. Griffith is a logical choice for the task, having written *Home Town News: William Allen White and the Emporia Gazette* in 1989, which joins John DeWitt McKee's 1975 *William Allen White: Maverick on Main Street* as the best existing studies of the editor.

The result is a heady read, chronicling childhood experiences on the edge of the American frontier to adult encounters with presidents and an intriguing assortment of political figures. From the age of twenty-seven on, White also published and edited his *Emporia Gazette*, living the personification of an American hometown hero. There are numerous themes that run through this book but one of the most fascinating is the elder White's experience of the tremendous upheavals of industrialization during his early years. The United States went through at least two ages of innocence during his lifetime, one as the coming of the railroad turned Emporia's locally based, self-reliant economy into a small thread of a huge national web, and a second as the idealistic reforms of

Theodore Roosevelt, Robert La Follette, and the other Progressives, whom White championed, ran into the realities of World War I and the 1920s. Throughout it all, he is less nostalgic for what has been lost than fascinated by how oblivious he and others were to the changes.

Griffith's editing consists primarily of removing wordy passages and rearranging similar streams of thought. She has also added footnotes to explain many of White's numerous biblical and historical allusions and has eliminated his son's rambling final chapter. Purists will find all of the changes documented in an appendix. However, unless one is obsessed with White (in which case the original edition is still available at libraries and used book stores), this revised version is much easier to read, especially for undergraduates, and should indeed help reveal White to another generation.

. . . Rich Digby-Junger
Northern Illinois University

●

COMMUNICATION SATELLITES: THEIR DEVELOPMENT AND IMPACT.
By Heather E. Hudson.
• Free Press
• 1990, 338 pp.
• $24.95, Cloth

IN 1945, SCIENCE fiction writer and physicist Arthur C. Clarke sold, for forty dollars, an article describing his idea of repeaters in space. Their synchronized rotation with the earth would enable three such devices stationed above the equator to cover the entire globe. But even the visionary Clarke failed to envision the development of microelectronics to make them feasible anytime before the next century.

Yet within two decades after his article appeared in *Wireless World*, Syncom 3 transmitted coverage of the Tokyo Olympics. Since then, the number, uses, and capacity of satellites in orbit has increased at a logarithmic rate. The obstacle to worldwide communications now, according to Hudson's thorough analysis, is the earthly infrastructure—lack of telephone lines, power for earth stations, a trained workforce, and so on.

For instance, two-thirds of the world's population still has no access to telephones, and New York City alone has more telephones than all of Africa. The infrastructure lags far behind the technology in all but the industrialized nations. The result is an unfortunate widening rather than a narrowing of the information gap in developing nations, despite the fact that there are now thirty-three hundred satellites in space driving a ten-billion-dollar-a-year industry.

We tend to talk in terms of the wonders of technology and its social potential, not in terms of the political, economic, and cultural institutions that constrain or promote the realization of that technology. Hudson's book focuses on those institutions. The international debate over privatization vs nationalization of satellite services —who pays, who uses, and who benefits—is still largely unresolved. The debate has led variously to quasi-public consortia, regulatory impasse, and "open skies" competition. Hudson demonstrates the difficulties of developing new technologies such as satellites when issues of foreign policy, corporate turf, and bureaucratic inflexibility get in the way in an arena that requires international regulation to avoid chaos.

Because satellite signals transcend national boundaries, U.S. domination in both satellite technology and entertainment production—which come together in signals to cable systems—has inevitably raised concerns among other nations about being swamped by U.S. signals and programming. Yet where use of satellite signals has been strictly regulated to prevent that domination, as in Canada, pirate dishes in backyards and on buildings have defeated government efforts to patrol information borders. From spy satellites to transmission of *Dallas*, satellites erase borders in ways not always welcome in other nations and cultures, despite their promise.

Hudson, director of the Telecommunications Man-

agement and Policy Program at the University of San Francisco and a frequent consultant to satellite projects, has written extensively on the use of satellite technology. In this book she has produced a valuable review of the status of that technology worldwide, although the book suffers from trying to meet several needs. It is simultaneously a history of satellite development, a policy analysis of the issues related to that technology, a global appraisal of satellite use, and a reasonable polemic arguing that nations should treat the infrastructure necessary for use of satellite information as a governmental obligation like roads and education, because of the benefits of access to information.

The book has a few flaws. It is weak on economic analysis—the high costs of satellites, which have an average ten-year lifespan, are largely ignored. It's also long on acronyms, although there is a valuable glossary for the reader who doesn't know a PTT from a VSAT. The writing is clear, no small feat, but the forest of bureaucratic detail and arcane terminology sometimes lacks sufficient interpretation.

Also, recent developments, such as new commercial ventures in Direct Broadcast Satellite technology, dated the book the day it was printed. That is an unavoidable consequence of writing about cutting-edge technology in commercial use, but it is aggravated by a few annoying lapses in wording, such as "compared to five years ago." However, these flaws should not detract from the overall value of the work in closing a gap in scholarship about the history and the application of an amazing technology we take for granted.

The ability of satellites to someday provide an electronic pathway to every home and workplace mandates development of equitable systems of distribution, on the ground as well as in the air. Satellites currently offer earth-bound users services such as news broadcasts from any terrestrial point, instant data and telephone transmission, medical consultations to remote rural areas, even monitoring of truck fleets where there is equipment to receive and use the signals. They could do much more, for many more, if regulatory and economic constraints would allow. Hudson's book offers useful lessons on what has worked and what hasn't, and why.

. . . Sandra Haarsager
University of Idaho

●

AMERICAN MASS-MARKET MAGAZINES.
Edited by Alan and Barbara Nourie.
• Greenwood Press
• 1990, 616 pp.
• $79.95, Cloth

IN *AMERICAN MASS-Market Magazines*, the latest of the *Historical Guides to the World's Periodicals*, editors Alan and Barbara Nourie have compiled concise histories of 106 general interest and mass-market magazines. An interesting reference book, the volume is full of fascinating anecdotes about some of our most enduring and influential magazines. The profiles, written by fifty-four contributors, include the *North American Review*, *Knickerbocker*, *Harper's*, *McCall's*, *National Geographic*, *Yankee*, *Look*, *Ms.*, *Playgirl*, *Psychology Today*, *People*, *Mother Jones*, *Geo*, and others. Here is an excerpt from one entry: "In the 1980s the *National Enquirer* is as much a national institution as motherhood, apple pie and baseball. Compared to its youthful beginnings when it featured sports, scandals and pin-ups, and its adolescent period when it hawked morbidity, sex and gore, it is almost respectable in its middle age."

Less exhaustive than Mott's work, but more detailed than the brief profiles found in most other sources, this guide can serve as a valuable tool for magazine and journalism history researchers. The profiles, arranged in alphabetical order, include both historical and recent information about each publication. A chronology lists publications from the *American Magazine and Historical Chronicle* in 1743 to *M Magazine*, established in 1983. Also included is a selected bibliography of particular value to the historian.

The emphasis is on the modern magazine, but about a third of the periodicals examined were established in the nineteenth century; some have since ceased publication. The book also includes selected examples of regional magazines, major tabloids, and widely read but specifically targeted magazines such as *Modern Maturity* and *Mechanix Illustrated*. Magazines with circulations of more than one hundred thousand that are judged to be of widespread interest or historical significance are profiled. Each entry also includes bibliographical references, index and location sources, historical data on publishers, editors, title changes, volumes and issues, and fairly current circulation figures.

The book would be even more useful had all the circulation figures included dates and sources. When given, the dates range from 1985 to 1989. For many research purposes, the inclusion of dates and sources of circulation data is essential. Those needing timely information may find the book already too dated, and will need to supplement it with another source such as *Standard Rate and Data*.

While most of the information was well-written and well-researched, some contributors obviously put more effort into their work than did others. Some included information on publishers; some listed only the company name and place of publication. Others indicated that important information, such as former editors' names, could not be located. (Most magazines, however, have historical files and press kits available for such purposes.)

A comparison of the editorial information given in the book with that in current magazines' staff boxes indicates enough discrepancies to warrant double-checking current staff members with the editorial office or a magazine fresh off the newsstand. Because magazine editors tend to play musical chairs, few bound books can keep up with all the changes.

For example, even the entry on the *New Republic*, one of the more timely and complete profiles, is already outdated. Hendrick Hertzberg had taken over as editor from Michael Kinsley some months before the book was published.

There have also been several significant changes in editors, publishers, the editorial profile, and staff at *Ms.* during the 1980s. Most of these are not mentioned. In fact, Gloria Steinem is shown as the only editor since 1972. Although the latest major development at *Ms.*, the decision to exclude advertising, may have been implemented too recently to be included, it certainly should appear in any future editions.

The profile on *Modern Maturity* included a 1985 circulation figure of 12,639,002, yet the introduction to the book says *Modern Maturity*'s circulation is 16,700,000. Meanwhile, several readily available library sources show that figure as closer to twenty million.

The changes at *Mother Earth News*, from a recycled-paper, unglamorous, how-to rag, to a glossy four-color publication are noted, although there are also several discrepancies in the circulation figures given.

The entry on the *Saturday Evening Post* is one of the more complete profiles. Six pages of information describe the beginning, changes, and current status of the magazine. The publishers and editors are listed in detail, and a 1988 circulation figure of seven hundred thousand (sans source) is given.

American Mass-Market Magazines suffers somewhat from not adequately defining and then including (or excluding) all appropriate magazines. *Texas Monthly*, *Playgirl*, and *Rolling Stone* are included, yet *California Magazine*, *Guideposts*, and the three-year-old *Conde Nast Traveler* (a no-freebies magazine setting new travel-writing standards) are not. The latter three seem to belong in the book as much as do the first three. The editors write in the introduction that some of the magazines have been included as examples of certain genres, yet this lack of uniformity limits the usefulness of the volume, and will send scholars seeking an entire universe off on yet another cross-referencing jaunt.

Where, for instance, is the

New Yorker? Established in 1925, with a circulation of around five hundred thousand, the weekly has historical significance and is larger than either *Harper's* or the *Atlantic*, both of which are included. The *New Yorker* also would seem to be of more general interest than is *New York Magazine*, a metropolitan magazine launched in 1968. Perhaps there is a perfectly logical explanation for this rather puzzling omission (i.e. that most Americans don't finish reading the stories, don't know when they are finished reading the stories, or don't understand more than half of the cartoons), but none was given.

Good Housekeeping is also excluded, although it, too, has been around a long time and is similar in concept, execution, and size to *Redbook*, *McCall's*, and *Family Circle*—all of which were included. The editors state in the introduction that "a number of general periodicals that might also fall into the 'Women's Magazine' category have been included as well." On those magazines with titles that are not gender specific, they explain that "one can safely assume that if they enter the household through a purchase by a female, the range and diversity of material offered will not deter cross-reading any more than in the case of, for example, *Reader's Digest*; they aspire to be magazines for the household." Thus, *Parents*, *Playgirl*, *Redbook*, *Organic Gardening*, and *Bon Appetit* are included, but *Good Housekeeping*, its title apparently deemed more gender specific, is not. That fact might be fodder for a *Ms.* magazine piece.

A major problem for those who would study the various genres of American magazines is knowing where to draw the line. Some magazines seem to fit several categories equally well; others defy classification. The Nouries explain the dilemma thus: "But in a society of more than two hundred million, mostly literate people, no single magazine, not even *TV Guide*, *Modern Maturity* or *Reader's Digest*, each with a sixteen million-plus circulation can truly be considered a national mass-market or popular magazine. What we have instead are a number of general, specialist titles."

There is no question that *American Mass Market Magazines* will be of great interest to historical researchers. The introduction and selections provide a good general overview of the history of American magazines. While not the definitive guide to the subject, this volume is a valuable addition to the literature.

. . . *Vicki Hesterman*
Nazarene College-San Diego

●

WARTIME: UNDERSTANDING AND BEHAVIOR IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR.
By Paul Fussell.
• Oxford University Press
• 1989, 350 pp.
• $24.95, Cloth

PAUL FUSSELL, WHO holds the Donald T. Regan Chair of English Literature at the University of Pennsylvania, is a gifted analyst. His earlier book, *The Great War and Modern Memory*, was a masterpiece, a beautifully constructed and deft examination of the subtleties of British experience on the western front and some of the literary means by which it had been remembered and mythologized. Reading this book was a turning point in my own work on the history of American war correspondents. I had already been taught by my mentor, James W. Carey, the importance of constructing the past from the viewpoint of the actors in the drama. I understood my task intellectually. Paul Fussell's volume led me to understand my work emotionally.

In contrast, his book on the Second World War is very problematic. In some ways it is a strange book. It certainly is a book with an agenda. "For the past fifty years," Fussell notes in the preface, "the Allied war has been sanitized and romanticized almost beyond recognition by the sentimental, the loony patriotic, the ignorant, and the bloodthirsty. I have

tried to balance the scales." This telling remark alerts the reader to the possibility that something more than the argument of the book is at work here. It reveals a tendency to make pronouncements, not only about discourse (in posters, newspapers, magazines, and novels), but about the private and hidden intentions, as well as the articulated and manifest desires of a wide range of people living during and fighting in World War II.

His justification for doing so is an admirable one. After fifty years, worldwide destruction and loss of life, he says, has been euphemized as "The Good War" or "The Just War." Fussell worries that "the young and the innocent could get the impression that it was really not such a bad thing after all."(142)

All books are arguments of one sort or another, but this one is beset with a series of problems. The three most important are a tendency to ascribe to the war conditions that are also characteristic of non-war situations; an inclination to misread the evidence he presents; and a willingness to generalize in the absence of any evidence at all.

First, and least problematic, is his readiness to ascribe to the war and its fighters characteristics to be found in times of peace. For example, Fussell recounts countless blunders executed in several wartime scenes to show the overwhelming incompetence of the armed services. Evelyn Waugh's diary entry detailing the journey of allied troops to West Africa is a case in point. Waugh complains of a fifteen-hour train ride with no food provisions except "a cup of contemptible tea and a few biscuits."(28) Several hours pass before decent food is given to the men, who were not allowed to break already packed provisions. This sort of situation arises whenever any bureaucratic organization, military or corporate, tries to move large numbers of people, long distance, often with faulty machinery.

Another example can be found in chapter 8, an examination of the soldier's "necessary" recourse to alcohol to anesthetize feelings that are the consequence of wartime damage to his self esteem. I don't debate the ability of the army to assault one's sense of importance in the universe. However, the GI culture described by Fussell as "Drinking Far Too Much, Copulating Too Little," is characteristic of the fraternity culture to be found on almost any campus. It is no accident that both GIs and fraternity members are young men with limited sexual experience. It is this, not war, that accounts for what the author calls "an inordinate fondness for popular songs warm with sexual allusion."(107)

A second problem with the book is Fussell's tendency to misread some of the evidence he presents to bolster his point of view. In chapter 12 he portrays the replacement of analysis and evaluation during the war by celebration and charm, as an eclipse of the critical faculty. "Even E. M. Forster, normally a highly critical intelligence, capable of sending up with a vengeance such sacred items as the Queen's Doll Houses, is to be found, in his broadcasts for the BBC, laying aside for the duration his critical as well as his ironic sense."(171) Yet if Forster saw nothing ironic about the course of events, and if he is representative of his times, it seems to me that any scholar who concludes there was no critical faculty at work must be making evaluations on the basis of criteria that she or he has made transcendent. That critic is measuring the past in terms of a fixed, a priori formula to be found universally in human experience, *not* reconstructing lost horizons. In this regard, there are many instances where Fussell misses a chance to examine the language used in World War II for its tropic properties because he assumes that the only legitimate trope for wartime is irony. Thus he mistakes an absence of irony for an absence of a critical sense.

The third, and most troublesome, problem with this work is the author's willingness to generalize about historical circumstances in the absence of any evidence at all. At times the lack of evidence is apparent in the very examples he uses to prove a point. He notes, for

instance, *Webster's* definition of *morale* in the 1951 edition of the dictionary: "*Morale*: Prevailing mood and spirit, conducive to willing and dependable performance, steady self-control, and courageous, determined conduct despite danger and privations, based upon a conviction of being in the right and on the way to success and upon faith in the cause or program and in the leadership, usually connoting, esp. when qualified by the adjective *high*, a confident, aggressive, resolute, often buoyant, spirit of wholehearted co-operation in a common effort, often attended particularly by zeal, self-sacrifice, or indomitableness."

He suggests that this definition is inflated, "sounding less like a lexicographer's than a rabid patriot's."(144) Although it is long, I am hard put to find anything rabidly patriotic in this definition.

At other times Fussell's views are reduced to mere speculation by virtue of the fact that he offers no evidence at all. At one point he writes that the letters soldiers and sailors write home cannot be relied upon by the historian of emotion and attitude "because they are composed largely to sustain the morale of the folks at home, to hint as little as possible at the real, worrisome circumstance of the writer."(145)

Every historian must interrogate the evidence to assign it weight. Some stories people tell about an event or person may not be true, but may at the same time indicate the significance of the story to its teller. A good historian is sensitive to a range of meanings, both hidden and manifest, in words, in statistics, in images of past experience. Fussell is both imaginative and sensitive enough to have picked up on the subtleties of discourse, but he provides no evidence to support his idea.

Contrary to Fussell, I have found letters of journalists to spouses and parents to be especially revealing of the inner landscape, the fear, the sadness, the relief or release felt before or just after battle, the frustrations of those who cannot get the story they want, the countless daily tolls war exacts from everyone. Ernie Pyle's letters (deposited in the library at Indiana University and partially quoted in Lee Miller's biography, *The Story of Ernie Pyle*) provide some of the most intense details about wartime experience.

All of this is not to suggest that Fussell's book has no value whatsoever. It is only to observe that the readers of *American Journalism* will find much of it problematic and may use his work in ways Fussell did not intend. It is required reading for any historian of war or of journalism in wartime. Other historians may find interesting facts or useful references. On occasion, the reader will be treated to flashes of insight, the kind that sustained his analysis of the Great War. He writes of the "analyzable taxonomy" of rumor and the conditions that support demotic social narrative and prophecy. These moments of insight are few and brief. In the last analysis, one gets the impression that just as Gibbons's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* was not so much about Rome as about the waning fortunes of the British empire in the last century, so too this book is less about the social losses of the Second World War than perhaps about the personal losses of its writer. But this is mere speculation.

. . . Mary S. Mander
Pennsylvania State Univ.

●

CHARLES H. JONES JOURNALIST AND POLITICIAN OF THE GILDED AGE.
By Thomas Graham.
• Florida A&M University Press
• 1990, 207 pp.
• $24.95, Cloth

THOMAS GRAHAM HAS given the vernacular expression "keeping up with the Joneses" a new meaning in this short but intriguing recollection of one of the Gilded Age's most ambitious newspaper personalities. However, the book is not a study of the fifteen persons whose common name appears frequently throughout the text; it is a window on the world of power and one man's

emotionless exercise of it. As his colleagues discovered, many to their sorrow, Charles H. Jones was a difficult but thoroughly pragmatic individual who decreed the acceptable code of behavior both in his newsrooms and in the back corridors of the Democratic party.

Graham's portrayal of this dominating figure demonstrates that Jones possessed many of the personal attributes that filmgoers found a half-century later in Orson Welles's "Citizen Kane." Born the son of a dentist/physician in pre-Civil War Georgia, Jones grew up in the small town of Talbotton. He was too young for active service, and following the Union victory in 1865, Jones left Georgia for New York to become a "literary gentleman." In 1869 he assumed his first full-time appointment as editor of the *Eclectic Magazine*, a collection of book reviews supplemented by British articles and essays directed to a female, middle-class readership.

Jones gradually grew tired of northern winters and in the early 1880s, he "escaped" to the virgin territory of Florida to invest in a citrus business. By 1884, he was disillusioned with agriculture and sought to purchase a newspaper. He made an offer to Hugh McCallum, the sickly owner of the Democratic party's *Daily Florida Union*. When negotiations failed, Jones launched the competitive and politically independent *Florida Daily Times*. Simultaneously, he tried to drive McCallum's newspaper out of business. His coconspirator, a humorist named Sam Small, purchased a minority share to secure work at the paper, with a mission to deliver the journal to Jones. Although this plot was unsuccessful, the two newspapers eventually joined under Jones's editorship and ownership. The merger also gave him access to the local Democratic party establishment.

From this point onward, Graham carefully guides his readers through a complex chronology that took Jones from Jacksonville to St. Louis then to New York and back to St. Louis before his self-imposed exile and eventual death in Europe. The author's discussions of Jones's influence and relationships with the journalistic and political elites of the day—people such as Joseph Pulitzer, Grover Cleveland, and William Jennings Bryan—reveal the motives of man driven by self-aggrandizement and the lustful enjoyment of the dominance of both people and places.

One of Graham's strengths is his ability to artistically mix dimensions of both the public and private Jones. Although he constantly surrendered familial comforts for journalism and politics, Jones was emotionally shattered by the premature deaths of his infant son and his first wife. The author shows us that while the tragedy did little to soften the sharp edges of his public encounters, it drove him into a deep malaise that led to his hasty and ill-fated second marriage.

Graham's prose suffers from none of the distorted, ill-conceived, and often dishonest hyperbole of his hero. Although his style borders on some of the more soulless standards of which academics are accused, his passion for both the man and the subject are apparent. Yet there are passages, especially those detailing the relationship between Jones and Missouri Democratic political fixer David Francis, that would benefit from a more dramatic sense of turmoil and tension. When one examines the overall depth and sensitivity with which Graham explores his subject, however, this is a minor complaint.

Thomas Graham has given us a glimpse of just one of the many late Victorian journalists who saw few demarcations between their craft and partisan politics. Unfortunately, this is only one study in what will hopefully become extensive research into the impact of the age on contemporary journalistic values and practices.

. . . David R. Spencer
Univ. of Western Ontario

UNIVERSITY OF TULSA
FACULTY OF COMMUNICATION
600 SOUTH COLLEGE
TULSA, OK 74104

NON-PROFIT ORGANIZATION
US POSTAGE PAID
UNIVERSITY OF TULSA
PERMIT NO. 661

PER
PN
4700
.A39

AMERICAN JOURNALISM

BYU Library S

OCT 2 8 2005

SPRING-SUMMER 1991

Published by the American Journalism Historians Association

KJ

AMERICAN JOURNALISM

SPRING–SUMMER 1991

DEPARTMENTS

•178•

BOOK REVIEWS

The Nation's Newsbrokers

Telling Lies in Modern American Autobiography

Civilizing Voices

Ties That Bind in Canadian/American Relations

Hollywood and Broadcasting

The Six O'Clock Presidency

Democracy without Citizens

Creating America

Media Hoaxes

Leopold Maxse and the National Review

Emile Cohl, Caricature and Film

and more . . .

ARTICLES

• The African-American Press and the Campaign for a Federal Antilynching Law, 1933–34
Using "Race News" to Shape Public Opinion.
Leonard Ray Teel **84**

• The *New England Courant*: Voice of Anglicanism
Reassessing James Franklin's Role in the History of Press Freedom.
Wm. David Sloan **108**

• H. W. Massingham, Radical Journalism, and the South African Racial Imperative, 1906–1910
Debating the Future of Freedom in South Africa.
James D. Startt **142**

• Press Policy of the U.S. Military Government in Korea
Testing the Limits of Libertarian Press Theory.
Kyo Ho Youm **160**

EDITOR
John J. Pauly
Tulsa
ASSOCIATE EDITORS
Pamela A. Brown
Rider College
Richard Lentz
Arizona State
BOOK REVIEW EDITOR
Nancy Roberts
Minnesota
DESIGN
Sharon M.W. Bass
Kansas
ADVERTISING
Alf Pratte
Brigham Young
ASSISTANT EDITOR
Barbara Buckley
Tulsa
FORMER EDITORS
Wm. David Sloan
Alabama
Gary Whitby
East Texas State

—

AMERICAN JOURNALISM HISTORIANS ASSOCIATION

PRESIDENT
Leonard Teel
Georgia State
VICE-PRESIDENT
Nancy Roberts
Minnesota
SECRETARY
Donald Avery
Samford
BOARD OF DIRECTORS
Perry Ashley
South Carolina
Roy Atwood
Idaho
Sherilyn Bennion
Humboldt State
Elaine Prostak Berland
Webster
Edward Caudill
Tennessee
Carol Sue Humphrey
Oklahoma Baptist
Alf Pratte
Brigham Young
Barbara Straus Reed
Rutgers
James Startt
Valparaiso

EDITORIAL PURPOSE. *American Journalism* publishes articles, research notes, book reviews, and correspondence dealing with the history of journalism. Such contributions may focus on social, economic, intellectual, political, or legal issues. *American Journalism* also welcomes articles that treat the history of communication in general; the history of broadcasting, advertising, and public relations; the history of media outside the United States; and theoretical issues in the literature or methods of media history.

SUBMISSIONS. All articles, research notes, and correspondence should be sent to Professor John Pauly, Editor, *American Journalism*, Faculty of Communication, University of Tulsa, 600 S. College Avenue, Tulsa, Oklahoma 74104. Authors should send four copies of manuscripts submitted for publication as articles. *American Journalism* follows the style requirements of *The Chicago Manual of Style*. The maximum length for most manuscripts is twenty-five pages, not including notes and tables.

All submissions are blind refereed by three readers, and the review process typically takes about three months. Manuscripts will be returned only if the author has included a self-addressed stamped envelope.

Research notes are typically three- to six-page manuscripts, written without formal documentation. Such notes, which are not blind refereed, may include reports of research in progress, discussions of methodology, annotations on new archival sources, commentaries on issues in journalism history, or suggestions for future research. Authors who wish to contribute research notes are invited to query the editor.

Anyone who wishes to review books for *American Journalism*, or to propose a book for review, should contact Professor Nancy Roberts, Book Review Editor, *American Journalism*, School of Journalism and Mass Communication, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455.

American Journalism is produced on a Macintosh computer, using Microsoft Word and Pagemaker software. Authors of manuscripts accepted for publication are encouraged, but not required, to submit their work on a DOS-based or Macintosh disk.

ADVERTISING. Information on advertising rates and placements is available from Professor Alf Pratte, Advertising Manager, *American Journalism*, Department of Communications, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah 84602.

SUBSCRIPTIONS. *American Journalism* (ISSN 0882-1127) is published quarterly by the American Journalism Historians Association, at the University of Tulsa. Subscriptions to *American Journalism* cost $25 a year, $10 for students, and include a one-year membership in AJHA. Subscriptions mailed outside the United States cost $25 for surface mail, $30 for air mail. For further information, please contact the Editor.

COPYRIGHT. © American Journalism Historians Association, 1991. Articles in *American Journalism* may be photocopied for fair use in teaching, research, criticism, and news reporting, in accordance with Sections 107 and 108 of the U.S. Copyright Law. For all other purposes, users must obtain permission from the Editor.

REFEREES. Thanks to the following editorial board members, who have recently read manuscripts for *American Journalism.*

Dave Anderson
Northern Colorado
Pat Aufderheide
American
Sharon Bass
Kansas
Dave Berkman
Wisconsin-Milwaukee
Elaine Prostak Berland
Webster
John Coward
Tulsa
Robert Davenport
Nevada-Las Vegas
Donna Dickerson
South Florida
David Eason
Middle Tennessee State
Wallace Eberhard
Georgia
Charles Frazer
Oregon
Carol Sue Humphrey
Oklahoma Baptist
Joli Jensen
Tulsa
Philip Lane
California State-Fresno
Karen List
Massachusetts
Michael Mosher
Tulsa
Jack Nelson
Brigham Young
Cathy Packer
North Carolina
Paul Rahe
Tulsa
Jan Robbins
Northern Iowa
Willard Rowland
Colorado
Richard Schiedenhelm
Boulder, Colorado
Thomas Schwartz
Ohio State
Thomas Volek
Kansas
Gary Whitby
East Texas State
Gilbert Williams
Michigan State
Phyllis Zagano
Boston

FROM THE EDITOR •

TWO OF THE ARTICLES in this issue—the ones by Leonard Teel and David Sloan—have something in common: they were both chosen top papers at the annual meeting of the American Journalism Historians Association, held in Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, in October 1990. But, as it turns out, all four articles in this issue share a common concern with the press as a proponent of political liberty.

No news there, of course. What is unusual is the vast terrain across which these articles track the story of freedom, from eighteenth-century Massachusetts to twentieth-century Korea, from South Africa to the American South.

What these articles all recognize, each in its own way, is that the press often provides the language of liberty, not just through its stories but in its very self. It is the everyday artifact and practice through which modern people dream themselves free.

Sometimes, despite the press's best efforts, that dream is deferred, as when the campaign to end British colonial rule leaves apartheid in place, or the campaign against lynching diminishes but does not end oppression. Sometimes the dream so beguiles us that we misread the history of press performance, as in our uncritical celebration of the *New England Courant*. And sometimes, as in Korea, our behavior falls well short of our own professed ideals.

I am speaking of something more than the simple, functionalist recognition of the role of the free press in modern societies. I mean to point to the symbolic uses of "the press" in making modernity plausible. The press, for modern people, continues to be a root metaphor of our hopes for liberation. In the dark turmoil of our dreams, we turn to it again and again as the familiar signpost that will point the way to morning.

– J.P.

THE AFRICAN-AMERICAN PRESS AND THE CAMPAIGN FOR A FEDERAL ANTILYNCHING LAW, 1933–34

Putting Civil Rights on the National Agenda

Leonard Ray Teel

DURING 1933, MOB LYNCHINGS in the South increased to epidemic proportions. Statistics differ, but across the region, from Mississippi to Maryland, the frequency of mob murders at least quadrupled over the previous year. Compared with six lynchings of African-Americans in 1932, twenty-four were carried out in 1933. In October 1933, the nationally circulated weekly newspaper in Baltimore, the *Afro-American*, calculated that "since August 27 we have averaged one lynching a week."[1] This outburst of brutality shocked Americans, North and South. The frequency of lynchings in 1933 negated the argument of Southern whites that the practice would be abolished by social pressure, without federal intervention. After particularly barbaric lynchings in Alabama and Maryland, African-American editors

---

1. "Lynchings Go Up," *Baltimore Afro-American*, 21 October 1933, 16. The editors relied on a count of thirty-two African-Americans, according to records of the International Labor Defense, the New York-based organization coordinating the defense of the nine "Scottsboro Boys." However, the archives at Tuskegee Institute, which had begun recording lynchings in the 1890s, counted only twenty-four lynched in 1933. For 1932 totals, the *Afro-American* relied on the figure of six, recorded by the Federal Council of Churches. The Tuskegee Institute also recorded six for 1932.

That 1932 total, however, conflicted with reports of lynchings carried in the African-American press. In October 1932, the *Chicago Defender* reported that a mob near Senatobia, Mississippi, killed all seven members of a farm family. "Family of Seven Meet Death at Hands of White Lynchers," *Chicago Defender*, 29 October 1932, 1. A month earlier, two tree lynchings of blacks in Crossett, Arkansas, and Warrenton, Virginia (this one viewed by a mob of one thousand), were condemned by a Louisiana newspaper, which said "savagery and barbarism brought forth reminiscence of the feeding of the Christians to the starving lions during the Roman era." "'Nature in the Raw,'" *Louisiana Weekly*, reprinted in the *Atlanta World*, 23 September 1932, 6.

The disparity in numbers, according to the *Afro-American*, was based on the fact that "there is no settled rule for defining a lynching, or even a mob." "Inaccurate Reports on Lynchings," *Baltimore Afro-American*, 7 January 1933, 6.

Leonard Teel is an associate professor in the Department of Communication at Georgia State University.

of the *Pittsburgh Courier* reasoned that, "we have the plainest proof that action by the federal government is needed if lynching is to be stamped out."[2] In the fall of 1933, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), revived its dormant campaign to lobby Congress for a federal antilynching law. The timing seemed fortuitous, given the recent election of Franklin Roosevelt, whose public pronouncements seemed in sympathy with issues of importance to African-Americans.

This study examines the role of the African-American press, North and South, in publicizing both the lynchings and the campaign for an antilynching law. It focuses on the active role of five newspapers—three in the North and two in the South. These newspapers aimed to shape African-American public opinion and the civil rights agenda of the early 1930s. As the campaign developed, the editors rallied their own readers for political action. They also prodded whites, North and South, to denounce lynching as mob murder. Although the campaign for an antilynching law failed, the campaign in the press helped build the numerical and financial strength of the NAACP. Ultimately, during the campaign and in its aftermath, the numbers of lynchings declined significantly. Finally, the campaign of 1933–34 witnessed the maturation of the African-American press itself. Major urban newspapers found in the antilynching legislation an issue that cut across racial lines and ran all the way to Washington. The campaign was the first major civil rights initiative involving the press with an activist African-American organization, the NAACP, and with political power brokers on the national level. During this period, the press took seriously its role as a voice for African-Americans, a voice articulating the newborn agenda of that campaign for civil rights.

From late 1933 until early 1934, African-American editors exerted pressure to pass a federal antilynching law. Among the Northern newspapers, three nationally circulated African-American weeklies took a leading role in the campaign, helping to shape opinion in the North and South. These were the *Chicago Defender*, the most influential of the three, published by Robert S. Abbott; the *Pittsburgh Courier*, edited by lawyer Robert S. Vann; and the *Baltimore Afro-American*, the oldest of the three, published by Carl Murphy. Among kindred newspapers in the South, two were particularly important—the *Norfolk Journal and Guide*, published by P. B. Young, Sr., and the *Atlanta Daily World*, published by W. A. Scott II and edited by Frank Marshall Davis. The *World*, newest of the five, was the only African-American daily in the United States.

These five newspapers devoted hundreds of columns to news reports of lynchings. In most cases, the editors depended upon

2. "NAACP Drafting New Anti-Lynching Bill; Committee Says It Is Only Way to Stop the Mob; Bill Will Be Introduced in January, 1934—Will Have Plenty Teeth,'" *Pittsburgh Courier*, 4 November 1933, 2.

press association dispatches from the South, but on occasion they sent their own reporters to the scene, or published the accounts of eyewitnesses or of occasional survivors.[3]

The African-American press also reported on the public's response to lynchings, particularly the action or inaction of local white authorities and grand juries. In most cases, authorities failed to arrest members of lynch mobs; those few arrested were seldom indicted or convicted. Articulating a central theme of the antilynching campaign, the *Chicago Defender* declared that "the silence upon the part of those who do not take part in lynchings yet refuse to rebuke and expose the lynchers, makes them partners to the offense."[4]

Editors frequently denounced the appearance of collaboration between Southern courts and lynchers. In the summer of 1933 a mob in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, lynched three men accused of killing a white woman, whose body was found in a ravine. As the *Defender* reported it, the judge played into the plans of lynchers who packed the courtroom. First, the judge refused the accused men lawyers of their choice, then he ordered the three men turned over to the sheriff, from whom the men were taken by the lynch mob. "We do not charge that the court and the sheriff were in a conspiracy with the lynchers," the editors wrote, "but we charge that the conduct of the court and the sheriff does not appear to have been in opposition to the action of the lynchers."[5]

In the course of covering the South, African-American newspapers undertook risks and expenses. Reporters evidently sensed danger from mob violence. In the spring of 1933, the weekly *Amsterdam News* noted that African-American reporters in Decatur, Alabama, to cover the rape trial of the nine "Scottsboro Boys" had "been assured of protection from the mob." As a practical matter, few reporters went to Scottsboro. Newspapers found it less dangerous and less expensive to band together. The *News*, the *Baltimore Afro-American*, the *Norfolk Journal and Guide*, and other newspapers joined to form Co-operative Publishers.

---

3. Representative of African-American newspapers' news coverage of lynchings during the summer and fall of 1933, and early 1934 were the following front-page headlines: "Alabama Mob Kills Six; Sheriff Aids Lynch Party; Bodies Found Riddled by Bullets; Three Still Missing; Law Officers Give Over Prisoners," *Chicago Defender*, 19 August 1933, 1; "Mad Mobsters Pick Out Victim's Gold Teeth; Burn His Naked Body in Gasoline," *Baltimore Afro-American*, 28 October 1933, 1; "I Was Lynched, but Lived to Talk; Nineteen-Year-Old Boy Relates Tragedy in Small La. Town," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 30 December 1933, 1.

4. "White Woman Dead, Black Man Sought," *Chicago Defender*, 18 November 1933, 14.

5. "Southern Court Arranges Lynching," *Chicago Defender*, 26 August 1933, 14. The editors labeled Tuscaloosa "the breeding place for judicial crimes" and its courts "the instrumentality of injustice, cruelty and barbarism." The three victims had been given a "make-believe judicial proceeding" in deference to public opinion.

During the Scottsboro trial, co-op members received dispatches from William N. Jones, managing editor of the *Afro-American*, and from P. Bernard Young, Jr., managing editor of the *Journal and Guide*.[6]

African-Americans paid a terrible price for the failure of law enforcement to guarantee punishment. In Atlanta, Frank Marshall Davis, managing editor of the *Atlanta World*, insisted that murders and lynchings would not stop until both races were sure that the authorities would punish wrongdoers. Davis considered lynching part of the larger problem of murder in the African-American community. In an editorial, "Murders in the South," he calculated that "more than ten times as many Negroes were killed by Negroes in just three cities [Memphis, Atlanta, and Birmingham] in 1931 as were lynched by whites all over America." Davis recommended two remedies to decrease the intraracial killings. First, he reasoned that with better education, his own race would enjoy "a culture which is not so easily punctured by those acts which inspire people less fortunate to kill without delay." The second remedy would be "certainty of punishment," to counter the tragic reality that "members of our race kill each other because they know few police departments will make more than a superficial effort to find them and get a conviction, [and] if convicted the sentence is as a rule light, while popular white sentiment considers purely Negro murders nothing affecting them and the victim as one less black with which their race will have to deal."[7] The rare occasions when authorities seemed intent on bringing lynchers to justice were featured prominently. In January 1934, a Nashville judge empowered a grand jury to investigate and "promptly indict" members of the mob that hanged a nineteen-year-old man after a previous grand jury declined to indict him.[8]

The general failure to prosecute lynchers—together with the increase in lynchings in the South—spurred the introduction of a new federal antilynching bill. The Costigan-Wagner Bill was introduced in Congress in January 1934 by Democratic Senators Edward F. Costigan of Colorado and Robert F. Wagner of New York.[9] It was the first effort since the defeat in 1921 of a bill to make lynching a federal crime. That legislation, the Dyer Bill, sponsored by Representative L. C. Dyer of St. Louis, passed the House but was defeated by filibuster in the Senate. Because the opposition of Southern Democrats had killed the Dyer Bill, an effort was made without success to persuade a Southern

6. "*Amsterdam News* Correspondents Were Protected," *Amsterdam News*, 12 April 1933, 2.
7. "Murder in the South," *Atlanta World*, 15 January 1932, 6.
8. "'Find the Lynchers,' Tennessee Judge Orders; Lynching of Cheek Branded 'Outrage,'" *Pittsburgh Courier*, 13 January 1934, 2.
9. 2 February 1934, *Congressional Record*, 73d Cong., 2d Sess., 1820–21, cited in Robert L. Zangrando, "The NAACP and a Federal Antilynching Bill," *Journal of Negro History* 50 (April 1965): 107.

congressman to sponsor the new legislation.[10] In announcing that he would introduce the bill, Costigan declared that, "If mob violence is to run riot in America in place of orderly justice the end of free government on this continent will have come. The sober sense of this country does not, and will not, sanction such blind and menacing lawlessness."[11] Significantly, his views were made public in a telegram to the New York headquarters of the NAACP.

While the bill was sponsored by the two senators, its language had been drafted for the most part by the legal committee of the NAACP.[12] The driving force behind the association, executive secretary Walter White, had been involved with the failed campaign to secure the Dyer antilynching bill. An antilynching bill had long been one of White's priorities; he researched and wrote a book on lynching, *Rope and Faggot*, that accused "derelict officials" across the South of bearing ultimate responsibility for mob lawlessness, noting that

> no lyncher has ever needed to feel the slightest apprehension regarding punishment or even the annoyance of an investigation. Even in the few instances where there were arrests and trials, the accused usually had friends on the jury, if not fellow lynchers; in others he knew that jurors and court officials were in sympathy with him or else dared not press the case too vigorously.[13]

White made a similar point in 1933, when the NAACP unveiled the draft of the Costigan-Wagner bill: "It is plain to everyone that the states are unwilling or unable to stop lynching. The officers of the law either aid the lynchers actively or else stand idly by and let the mob do its work. Governors order investigations which never discover anything. Grand juries find no evidence for indictments."[14]

White and the NAACP campaign continued to make news in the African-American press through the fall of 1933 and winter of 1934. White's main business was in the New York headquarters and in Washington, but he spent time rallying support in major urban areas, giving talks and issuing statements. The press accorded him the coverage worthy of a major political figure. On an earlier visit to Pittsburgh, White had been hailed in the *Courier* for his "militant speaking crusade against the hor-

10. Robert L. Zangrando, *The NAACP Crusade Against Lynching, 1909–1950* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1980), 111.
11. "Sen. Costigan Fathers Bill against Lynching; Draft Federal Law to Check Crime," *Chicago Defender*, 9 December 1933, 1.
12. "NAACP Drafting New Anti-Lynching Bill," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 4 November 1933, 2.
13. Walter White, *Rope and Faggot: A Biography of Judge Lynch* (New York: Knopf, 1929), 8–9.
14. "NAACP Drafting New Anti-Lynching Bill," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 4 November 1933, 2.

rible wave of lynching which has swept America during the past ten months."[15] Each new lynching focused more attention on White and the NAACP activism. When nineteen-year-old Cord Cheek was kidnapped and lynched in Maury County, Tennessee, White stated that he had retained investigators who determined that the young man was killed by the mob "because he had refused to call a white lad of his own age 'Mister' and had had a fight as a result."[16]

In addition to covering White's speaking campaign, the press publicized the NAACP's urgent need for paid memberships. The *Courier* gave unqualified support to the NAACP as "the only logical organization to organize and further the campaign for such a law. It almost succeeded in getting such a law passed several years ago." The NAACP could bring "tremendous, intelligently directed pressure." Success would follow, the editors said, "IF NEGROES WILL GIVE IT THE SUPPORT THEY SHOULD" and provide "ample funds to pay talented lobbyists in Washington." To increase numbers and funds during the Depression, the NAACP asked for basic one dollar memberships, "or slightly less than two cents a week."[17]

At the same time, African-Americans tried to put antilynching legislation on President Roosevelt's agenda. The NAACP sought a conference with the new president but was unsuccessful, partly because Roosevelt was preoccupied with remedying the Depression, partly because Roosevelt feared that a federal antilynching law could easily strain relations with powerful Southern Democrats whose support he needed.[18]

The African-American press did not relent on the need for federal intervention, however. In August, the *Defender* noted the president's interest in a study of ways to eradicate kidnapping. The editors contended that any solution for kidnapping "will be incomplete unless the same law is made directly applicable to the lyncher as well."[19] In November 1933, the *Defender* addressed an editorial to the president, calling his attention to the "numerous lynchings which in the past six months have assumed increasing proportions." The editors declared that, "The continuation of these crimes impugns the motives and purposes which are

15. White spoke at the Macedonia Baptist Church on 2 November 1933. The *Courier* noted that "a vigorous effort will be made to bring about some drastic legislation to curb this barbarous and inhuman practice." "Walter White to Score Lynching at Meeting Here," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 28 October 1933, 1.

16. "Real Cause of Lynching Is Revealed; Tennessee Damsel (Paid) to Say Mob Victim Raped Her; Investigators Busy; Refusal to 'Mister' White Boy Real Complaint," *Norfolk Journal and Guide*, 6 January 1934, 1.

17. "An Anti-Lynching Law," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 28 October 1933, 10. A generation before the locus of the civil rights movement moved into the churches, the editors suggested that "if there were as many NAACP members as Negro church members in the United States, this evil could be forever banished from the nation."

18. Zangrando, *NAACP Crusade*, 112.

19. "The Kidnapper and the Lyncher," *Chicago Defender*, 12 August 1933, 14.

presumed to sustain our statutes and laws and renders the character of our civilization reprehensible to other nations of the world." They wished to know where the president stood on the issue:

> It is sincerely hoped, Mr. President, that you will find it convenient to let it be known to the nation that you regard the flag under which you govern as being equally responsible alike for all racial units. That you regard these cruel and inhuman offenses against a weak and defenseless portion of American citizenry as contravening not only the law of our country but of God as well.[20]

The African-American press in the South—at least in the urban areas—endorsed the antilynching bill. At the *Atlanta World*, Frank Marshall Davis endorsed the NAACP's campaign to pass the federal antilynching law.[21] Sensing that there was real hope the law would be passed during 1934, Davis wrote that "it is gratifying . . . [that] a move has been made to rid the country from the terrible blot of lynching, which is a hangover torture long outgrown by progressive civilizations." A direct way to stop "local sanction" of lynching, Davis wrote, would be to fire the sheriff who fails to protect his prisoners and to pay relatives of the "lynchee" ten thousand dollars.[22]

It took the lynching of two whites, however, to bring the campaign the sustained attention of the white press and white political leaders. In late November, a mob at San Jose, California, lynched two white men accused of kidnapping and murder. Gov. James Rolph, Jr., created a firestorm of controversy when he issued a statement that suggested that the lynch mob had merely speeded up the judicial process. His various public comments appeared to condone lynching and to promise immunity to the mob. He was accused of deferring his Thanksgiving vacation to prevent anyone from calling out the militia and thus preventing lynchings.[23]

Rolph's actions and comments seemed to demand a national rebuttal. No high public official outside the South had encouraged lynching for more than a generation. The rebuttal came quickly from national political leaders, including former President Herbert Hoover. After at first declining to reply to Hoover, Rolph consulted with his aides, and issued a statement. He denied that he advocated lynch law but he refused to recant and

---

20. "Special to the President of the United States," *Chicago Defender*, 18 November 1933, 14.
21. Davis had a personal experience with lynching in Kansas when he was five years old. Some white third-graders who had heard about lynching practiced on him and nearly hanged him.
22. "What the Country Knows about Lynching," *Atlanta World*, 8 January 1934, 6.
23. "Violating His Own Law," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 23 December 1933, 10.

even sympathized with the lynchers: "I repeat what I said in my original statement, that while the law should have been permitted to take its course, the people by their action have given notice to the entire world that in California kidnapping will not be tolerated."[24]

The political firestorm engaged the white establishment press and its readers. During early December, with Christmas approaching, the American press published news stories and editorials, and the public was galvanized temporarily by the injustice of lynching. In Washington, the Socialist party leader, Norman Thomas, urged Roosevelt "to make a public appeal against lawlessness and mob lynching in an effort to stem the lynching wave."[25] The NAACP also called on Roosevelt to take a public stand against lynching.[26]

An editorial in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* branded Rolph's statements as "among the most shocking ever made by a Governor of an American State" and seemed to support an antilynching law: "Crime will not be stamped out in American until all who would commit deliberate crime know that the force of police and of the courts will certainly overcome them if they break the law."[27] In New York, a physician wrote a letter in which he diagnosed lynching as a "symptom of an underlying disorder" and declared that the "cure" depended upon "efficient detection and arrest of criminals, followed by a quick, certain court procedure to dispose of the offender."[28]

Church leaders, Protestant and Catholic, were moved by the extraordinary moral implications of Rolph's condoning the lynch mob. A spokesman for the national Presbyterian Church said the California governor's attitude humiliated the United States and undermined its moral authority to throw "anathemas and stones at Germany for the pressure she has put upon the Jews."[29] In St. Louis Catholic prelates adopted a resolution deploring recent lynchings and urging governors to take immediate steps "that such occurrences be rendered impossible for the future."[30]

The general condemnation of Rolph was encouraging. The Associated Negro Press (ANP) dispatched an interpretive story

24. "Hoover and Rolph in Sharp Exchange," *New York Times*, 1 December 1933, 4.
25. "Socialists Urge Anti-Lynching Law; Thomas and Waldman Sign a Telegram, Appealing to the President for Action; Gov. Rolph Is Denounced; Roosevelt Is Asked to Use His Power to Stop 'Epidemic of Sadistic Terror,'" *New York Times*, 1 December 1933, 4.
26. Zangrando, *NAACP Crusade*, 104.
27. "Skeleton in the Closet," *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, reprinted in *New York Times*, 3 December 1933, 4.
28. "Lynching Diagnosed," *New York Times*, 9 December 1933, 14.
29. "Sees Nation Humiliated; Dr. Macartney in Pittsburgh Deplores 'American Atrocities,'" *New York Times*, 1 December 1933, 4.
30. "Catholic Prelates Deplore Lynchings; Group at Bishop Lillis' Consecration in St. Louis Urges Governors to Act," *New York Times*, 1 December 1933, 4.

concluding, "Some solace may be felt by Negro citizens of the United States who view with heavy hearts the past week's widely scattered outbreaks of lynch lawlessness in a realization of the fact that no person of power or influence or position has condoned the occurrences." The ANP noted that Rolph's stand had "received both praise and censure, but it is noticeable that the praise came from unknown persons of little influence and the censure from responsible leaders of American thought."[31]

The expressions of outrage penetrated the walls of indifference. Even in the defensive South, enlightened white citizens of the upper and middle classes went on record as opposing lynching. At the very least, lynching was bad for business, not only bringing bad publicity to the South but also accelerating the migration of cheap labor to Detroit, Chicago, and Harlem.

The Depression and the migration of labor to the North gave Southern civic and business leaders reason to be concerned. Enlightened whites seeking to attract Northern capital sought to limit the damaging effects of the lynchings by banding together in a publicly visible manner.[32] In this effort, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation (CIC) had been engaged progressively since 1919 from its headquarters in Atlanta. While whites generally did not attack the Jim Crow laws or segregated society in general, they nevertheless could come together publicly to address excesses of segregation. The CIC, for example, sponsored the Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching.[33] In 1929, as head of the NAACP, Walter White viewed this economic self-interest with optimism, noting that as whites "realized through the migration the economic asset that the Negro is to the South, and the disastrous economic effect of mob-law and the resulting disturbance of white and Negro labour, this new and powerful force of enlightened self-interest is working and will work for suppression of mobbism—that is, where mobbism works against pecuniary interest."[34]

The lynching issue permitted a dialogue to develop between African-Americans and whites. Progressives in the South could easily condemn lynching, while cautiously hoping to forestall federal intervention in Southern law enforcement. The central object, opposition to mob murder, easily gained advocates among the white middle and upper classes. Southern white women of the middle and upper classes took a leadership role in the campaign against lynching. In the early 1930s, under the encouragement of the CIC, a group called the Southern Women

31. Associated Negro Press, "Nation's Leaders Condemn Lynching Stand of California's Governor; Persons of Power and Influence Scathingly Denounce Lawlessness and Un-American Stand of Governor Rolph; Bishops, Governors, Authors, Government Officials Unite in Expressing Disapproval of California's Travesty on Legal Justice," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 9 December 1933, 2.
32. Zangrando, *NAACP Crusade*, 11.
33. Zangrado, *NAACP Crusade*, 11.
34. White, *Rope and Faggot*, 192–93.

for the Prevention of Lynching (SWPL) subscribed nearly one million members.[35] Among its most progressive members were those in the Georgia Council. In December 1933 the Georgia women gained national attention for preliminary statements that seemingly supported the Costigan-Wagner bill. The report in the *Chicago Defender* portrayed Southern white women at the brink of asking for federal assistance on lynching:

> Facing a marked increase in mob violence in 1933, the Georgia Council of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, in annual session here last Friday, discussed the wisdom of asking for a federal anti-lynching law, but deferred action until the matter could be more fully studied.... In view of the unwillingness of local officials and courts to prosecute in such cases, the council voted its approval of proposed state legislation giving the governor authority to direct investigation and prosecution in lynching cases.[36]

In deferring action, the Council asked that the matter be considered by the full association, scheduled to meet 9 January in Atlanta.

Part of the irony of the conference was the Georgia women's concern that Southern lynch mobs historically had defended lynchings on the grounds of protecting the integrity of white women. The African-American press alleged that "white men rape white women and place the crime on black men in the South; white men have been known to blacken their faces and commit crimes and then join in the lynching of a black man for the very crime they themselves committed."[37] This was a widely shared view. In 1932, the *Atlanta World* published an excerpt from the book *Brown America*, in which Edwin Embree perceived a "perverted conscience in white man's violent anxiety to protect female purity"—"an unholy sensitiveness" deriving from "his own crimes against colored women."[38]

Scholarly analysis of the records of hundreds of lynchings revealed that alleged or actual sexual assaults were the reason for only 23 percent of lynchings.[39] A three-year study published

35. Zangrando, *NAACP Crusade*, 11, 105.

36. "Georgia Women Demand Law to Wipe Out Lynching Evil; Urge Senate to Enact Ruling; Praise Gov. Ritchee and Condemn Gov. Rolph," *Chicago Defender*, 16 December 1933, 1.

37. "This Is a Metaphor," *Chicago Defender*, 18 November 1933, 14.

38. "Changing Attitude," excerpt from Edwin Embree, *Brown America* (New York: Viking, 1931), 218, in *Atlanta World*, 23 August 1932, 6.

39. "Changing Attitude," *Atlanta World*, 23 August 1932, 4. Walter White noted that white lynchers used sexual assaults as their reason for action in order to avoid punishment and to "gain approval of their action." So pervasive was this practice that, "There was once a general conviction that most if not all lynchings were in expiation of sex crimes committed by Negroes upon white women." He cited the research of James Elbert Cutler, an economics instructor at Wellesley College, who in the early 1900s studied the cases of 2,060 blacks lynched

in 1933 concluded that African-Americans were lynched for a wide variety of alleged offenses, many of them frivolous or petty, such as "trying to act like a white man" or mere suspicion of stealing hogs or cattle. The researchers' review of forty years of lynchings noted that of the 3,693 mob victims between 1889 and 1929, only 614 (16.7 percent) had been accused of rape. The book reviewer for the *Journal of Negro History* noted that "among the apologists for lynching were found judges, prosecuting attorneys, lawyers, business men, teachers, mechanics, day laborers, and women of many types." He concluded that the book was "one of the most notable contributions to the literature about America's greatest shame."[40]

The results of such studies on lynching were circulated abroad by the international press corps. A report in the *Liverpool Echo* printed the NAACP's lynching statistics and quoted Walter White on "the futility of depending on local officials to stamp out mob violence." On the subject of justification for lynchings, the article noted that "often these assault charges are untrue. They merely service [sic], like war atrocity stories, as a convenient weapon to inflame the mob. . . . In many ways other than attacking white women, the Negroes have "qualified for lynchings."[41]

Despite the statistics, African-American men continued to be charged with assaults on white women. In Georgia in November 1933, a wealthy white woman was found murdered and the man who had worked as her foreman for years was charged with her murder. The *Chicago Defender* reported that

> by some unexplainable cause he was not lynched immediately, as is the custom. . . . But in the meantime through some freak of fate the truth came to light and it was discovered that the white lady had at one time willed her plantation to her white overseer and recently had some difference with him and threatened to change her will.
>
> . . . The black man was vindicated and released. This story is the true story—with the exception of this particular black man's vindication—of hundreds of lynchings and their causes in the South.[42]

---

between 1882 and 1903 and found that only 707 were *charged* with rape, or attempted or alleged rape. Charges of murder ranked first, rape was second, "minor offenses" third, arson fourth, theft fifth. White, *Rope and Faggot*, 252. See also Cutler, *Lynch Law: An Investigation into the History of Lynching in the United States* (reprint: Montclair, N.J.: Patterson Smith, 1969), 178.

40. Rayford W. Logan, review of Arthur Raper, *The Tragedy of Lynching* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1933), in *Journal of Negro History* 18 (October 1933): 485–86. The study was conducted by the Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching at the suggestion of the Atlanta-based Commission on Interracial Cooperation.

41. "English Newspaper Scores American Lynching Orgy; *Liverpool Echo* Says Clue to Lynching Is Largely Economic," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 24 February 1934, 2.

42. "This Is a Metaphor," *Chicago Defender*, 18 November 1933, 14.

In this context, the January 1934 conference of the Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching raised the hope of support for the Costigan-Wagner bill. At the Atlanta meeting, women from twelve states held their highly visible and publicized conference in Atlanta. The women went on record favoring permanent eradication of lynching. They condemned lynching "for any reason whatsoever" and they resolved that "no alleged crime justifies another crime." In addition, they took an unprecedented step in relating lynching to the general ills in segregated society:

> We declare as our deliberate conclusion that the crime of lynching is a logical result in every community that pursues the policy of humiliation and degradation of a part of its citizenship because of accident of birth; that exploits and intimidates the weak element in its population for economic gain; that refuses equal educational opportunity to one portion of its children; that segregates arbitrarily a whole race in unsanitary, ugly sections; that permits the lawless elements of both races to congregate in those segregated areas with little fear of molestation by the law; and finally that denies a voice in the control of government to any fit and proper citizen because of race.[43]

The association's remedy, however, was far more conservative than its rhetoric. Traditionally conservative influences tempered the women's progressivism and led them away from welcoming direct federal intervention, as the NAACP hoped for. Rather, the women endorsed "cooperation" between state and federal officials, declaring it "unwise" to shift "to the Federal Government the full responsibility for stamping out lynching."[44]

The association's deliberations were greeted with mixed feelings by the editors of the moderate *Norfolk Journal and Guide*. On the positive side, the editors thanked the women for their "courageous repudiation of the demagogues who proclaim that lynching is necessary to the protection of southern womanhood and a bold denunciation of the system set up to defend and perpetuate mob law. All honor and glory to the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching!" On the other hand, the editors worried that "co-ordinate action between state and Federal authorities" would "lessen the responsibilities of

---

43. "This Is a Metaphor," *Chicago Defender*, 18 November 1933, 14.

44. Julian Harris, "Southern Women War on Lynching; Want Coordinate Action between Federal and State Governments; Ask Justice for Negro; Condemn Policy of Humiliation, Segregation and Educational Handicaps," *New York Times*, 14 January 1934, E7. The reporter, Julian Harris, had won a Pulitzer Prize in 1926. As editor of the *Columbus* (Georgia) *Enquirer-Sun*, he led an editorial campaign against the Ku Klux Klan and lynching. See Gregory C. Lisby, "Julian Harris and the *Columbus Enquirer-Sun*: The Consequences of Winning the Pulitzer Prize," *Journalism Monographs* No. 105 (April 1988).

the several states" and "might result in only punitive treatment of lynchers and speed prevention not at all."[45]

This stance that Southerners could and would take care of their own lawlessness dominated opinion in the Southern white press. Guided by the passion of that argument, Southerners viewed the lynching murders in California as a threat, mainly because they gave credence and momentum to the new campaign for a federal antilynching law. "Governor Rolph's unwise statements and the publicity given them, together with the strength of public sentiment aroused by an epidemic of lynchings in several states, enhances its [the Costigan-Wagner bill's] chances of passage," reasoned editors in Mississippi. While conceding that "many of the most earnest and intelligent opponents of lynching are southerners," the editors noted that "many of these, however, opposed the Dyer act because they realized the dangerous loss it would inflict upon states' rights. This combination makes passage of this bill a possibility if not a probability. It is of interest and concern to all southerners, but no southerner in Congress worthy of the name will vote for the bill."[46]

Opposition was not solid in the South. One month after the lynchings in California, the *Atlanta Constitution* surprisingly endorsed the antilynching bill outright. This was particularly unusual because, as the *Chicago Defender* noted only two months earlier, the *Constitution* had "unceasingly breathed defiance to our every social and political right."[47] In supporting the antilynching bill, the *Constitution* sought to neutralize sectional friction. They noted that lynching was a *national* problem, signifying that the bill was not intended as punishment for the South. "Mob law," the *Constitution* declared, "is no longer a sectional evil," citing the "recent mob law outrages in widely separated sections of the country." Thus, they reasoned, "such a law would be in like [sic] with the action of Congress in enacting a measure making kidnapping a federal offense when the crime became so general in scope that it assumed the proportion of a national menace." The editors noted that, "A law

---

45. "Southern Women on Lynching and Justice," *Norfolk Journal and Guide*, 20 January 1934, 6.

46. "Other Papers Say—Another 'Anti-Lynch' Bill to Be Offered in the Senate," *Mississippi Daily Clarion-Ledger*, reprinted in *Chicago Defender*, 6 January 1934, 11.

47. "A Step in the Wrong Direction," *Chicago Defender*, 16 September 1933, 14. On this occasion, the *Defender* opposed Roosevelt's proposed appointment of Clark Foreman of Atlanta to be adviser on the economic status of black people for the U.S. Interior Department under the National Recovery Act. The *Defender* noted that Foreman was "a blood relative" of the *Constitution* editor and publisher publisher, Clark Howell, and lumped both with "men whose racial prejudices will make them traitors to the government itself . . . [W]e are compelled to feel that our economic welfare cannot receive fair and impartial treatment in his [Foreman's] hands."

making lynching a national offense would undoubtedly have a strong deterrent effect upon those inclined to place the authority of the mob above that of the courts."[48]

That same week, in another lynching state, Maryland, the *Baltimore Sun* grieved over a lynching in Tennessee. There, a mob hanged a man who had been acquitted after the jury found insufficient evidence that he had attempted to attack a white girl. Noting this irrationality, the editors declared that

> When Judge Lynch sits on a case such little formalities as certainty of the guilt of the accused cut no ice. This is shown, not only in the Tennessee case, but in many others.... An innocent man hanged by the neck makes as good sport as a guilty one for beasts who masquerade as defenders of virtue.
>
> The sheriff reports that the Tennessee lynching "was handled in a very quiet manner" and, as usual, "no one knew anything about it." We Maryland people understand all that.[49]

Such expressions of sympathy and support from even the South, reprinted in the African-American press, were greeted as encouraging notes as the antilynching bill headed toward congressional hearings, scheduled to begin in February. In Pittsburgh, it seemed obvious to the *Courier* that "white people are certainly rallying behind this new anti-lynching bill. Some of the editorial expressions in Southern newspapers are so favorable as to be astonishing. Papers in Georgia, Virginia, Florida, Texas, and even in Mississippi have expressed themselves as desiring such a law."[50]

Amid these developments, President Roosevelt was being urged to take a public stand against lynching. At the end of November, as Rolph was being criticized for condoning the California lynchings, Roosevelt announced that he would address the forthcoming Washington convention of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. There was no advance notice that the speech, to be broadcast on radio, would discuss lynching.[51] Roosevelt's speech, on 8 December, focused on law and order. He condemned the new wave of lynchings and criticized Rolph. "We do not excuse those in high places or low who condone lynch law," the president said. He spoke in the unambiguous vocabulary of the NAACP, calling lynching that "vile form of collective murder which has broken out in our midst anew.... We know that it is murder, and a deliberate and

48. "Other Papers Say: As A Federal Offense (*Atlanta Constitution*)," reprinted in *Chicago Defender*, 30 December 1933, 14.
49. "Other Papers Say," *Chicago Defender*, 30 December 1933, 14.
50. "More Pressure Needed," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 10 February 1934, 10.
51. "Roosevelt to Speak to Church Council; President Will Take Part at Anniversary of Federation in Washington Wednesday," *New York Times*, 1 December 1933, 4.

definite disobedience of the commandment, 'Thou shalt not kill.'"[52]

The president's speech reassured the churchmen and the antilynching campaigners. "Every Negro in America," said Bishop John A. Gregg of the African Methodist Episcopal Church of Kansas City, "lifted up his head this morning and thanked God for the statement of President Roosevelt on lynching last night."[53] In Norfolk, the *Journal and Guide* said Roosevelt's "public denunciation of the national crime as a 'vile form of collective murder'" was evidence of a "quickened national conscience." Despite the alarming number of lynchings—the highest in ten years—the editors concluded that with presidential leadership, "we have a nation aroused at last to the shame and menace of lynch law, and that is the surest way of wiping it out."[54] In Pittsburgh at year's end, the *Courier* applauded the president and hoped that "we may be going through the last days of lynching." The Costigan-Wagner bill, it said, "will not only have the support of all intelligent Negroes, but also of a larger number of responsible white people than ever before. The majority sentiment is in favor of it, and if it is vigorously pushed it stands an excellent chance of being enacted into a law."[55]

Roosevelt repeated his condemnation of lynching in his first speech to Congress in January. This speech raised the debate to the legislative level and indicated that the President would push for federal action. The *Defender* reported that Roosevelt

> denounced lynchings and mob violence as not only a violation of ethics and a disgrace to an enlightened civilization but in fact went further in recommending action such as a federal antilynching law which offers the only effective and certain curbing of these crimes.
>
> The president called for use of the strong arm of the law, and immediate suppression "must be the result of an aroused public abhorrence."[56]

The posturing in Washington, however, seemed to have little immediate effect in eradicating lynching in the South. Two days after President Roosevelt's address to the church leaders, Texas "answered in typical American fashion," reported the *Chicago Defender*, "by shooting a man to death, taking his body after life had fled, cutting out the heart and carrying it, still dripping blood, through the town of Kountze, dragging the body tied to an automobile through the streets, and finally burning it in the

52. "1933—Lights and Shadows," *Norfolk Journal and Guide*, 6 January 1934. 2.
53. "Churches Praise Roosevelt Speech; Federal Council Approves Condemnation of Lynching but Repeal Aid Is Deplored; 'Moral Sag' Is Foreseen; Secretary Wallace and Green at Washington Urge Campaign for Better Social Order," *New York Times*, 8 December 1933, 27.
54. "1933—Lights and Shadows," *Norfolk Journal and Guide*, 6 January 1934. 2.
55. "The Last Days of Lynching," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 30 December 1933, 10.
56. "President Hits Lynchings before Congress; Lynch Evil Is Condemned by President," *Chicago Defender*, 6 January 1934, 1.

heart of the Jim Crow section." The style of reporting, as was typical, communicated the outrage of the African-American journalists, perhaps more so because the victim, David Gregory, had gone to a church for sanctuary:

> He had been accused of assaulting and murdering a white woman. Because he had served a sentence once before for some petty crime, he was immediately suspected of this crime.
>
> Knowing that he was being sought, he fled and took refuge in the belfry of a church in the little town of Voth.
>
> Sheriff Miles Jordan, acting on a tip from a Race stool-pigeon that a "strange Negro" was in own, hurried to Voth with his "deputies."
>
> Immediately they surrounded the church and yelled for Gregory to come down. As soon as the man appeared in sight to comply with the demand, a member of the sheriff's "posse" by the name of Chance, raised a shotgun and blew off one side of Gregory's face. . . . So enraged were the members that they did not have a hand in his killing that they set to work to mutilate the body. They cut out his heart, still warm and fluttering, and carried it at the head of the procession.
>
> Down one street and up another the jubilant citizens went dragging the pitiable body behind them.[57]

Grand juries did not often seek to prosecute lynchers, and their inquiries were often suspect. In Tennessee Cord Cheek had been arrested on a charge of attempting to attack a white girl. The grand jury did not indict him, however, and on 15 December 1933 he was released from a Nashville jail. A few hours later, a mob abducted and hanged him.[58] In this case, the judicial system at least made a show of seeking the guilty parties. In a gesture consistent with the supposed new national "consciousness" of injustice, a new county grand jury was given "special instructions to investigate the recent abduction and lynching" and to "promptly indict" the perpetrators if their identify could be determined.[59] Distrustful of the process, however, Walter White of the NAACP arranged for investigators to look into claims that the grand jury overlooked evidence from Fisk University students, who said they had taken down the license plate number of the kidnappers.[60] Given this context, the aftermath of a lynching at St. Joseph, Missouri, became front-page news in

57. "Sheriff Gives Man to Mob," *Chicago Defender*, 16 December 1933, 1.
58. "'Find the Lynchers,' Tennessee Judge Orders; Lynching of Cheek Branded 'Outrage,'" *Pittsburgh Courier*, 13 January 1934, 2.
59. "'Find the Lynchers," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 13 January 1934, 2.
60. "Real Cause of Lynching Is Revealed," *Norfolk Journal and Guide*, 6 January 1934, 1.

the African-American press. Late in 1933, a nineteen-year-old man, Lloyd Warner, was lynched after he allegedly confessed to attacking a white girl. By year's end, the grand jury investigating the lynching indicted eleven persons.[61]

Rarer, of course, were convictions. None of the eleven persons indicted in Missouri was convicted. In February 1934, as the federal antilynching legislation was coming up for its first hearing, the Atlanta-based CIC reported that since 1900, there had been only twelve convictions for 1,880 mob killings. This was argument enough, urged W. W. Alexander, CIC director, for at least changes of venue. There should be, he reasoned, legislation to lift lynching cases out of the "local atmosphere" and provide for their trial in communities unaffected by mob hysteria.[62]

The capriciousness and haste of lynch mobs were demonstrated repeatedly. In Labadieville, Louisiana, around Christmas 1933, a white girl was found slain and two men were summarily accused. One, Freddie Moore, was hanged and the second, Norman Thibodeaux, was strangling in his noose when an elderly bridge tender shouted to the mob, "Cut him down! This boy is innocent. He just came into town today from New Orleans. I saw him get off the bus. He doesn't know anything about the killing." Hours later, the girl's stepfather admitted he killed her. Thus, nineteen-year-old Thibodeaux became a rare survivor of a lynch mob, able to tell that

> Freddie Moore was hanging from an overhead girder of the bridge. He was already dead. His clothes were all covered with blood. His toes were all burned where they had put red-hot irons to them. His hands were hanging free. They told me—and I found out later it was true—that the first thing they had done to him when they took him out of jail was cut off his testicles.
>
> Later on they took pictures of Freddie, with a sign hanging to his feet saying: "Niggers Let This Be An Example. Do Not Touch for 24 Hours. Mean it."
>
> . . . [T]hey just had one rope that they hung Freddy Moore with, and they sent a boy away to get a brand new, springy rope. They put it around my neck, and threw the end of the rope over the girder to a boy who was standing there.
>
> . . . They started to pull me up, slow. It was a new, springy rope. It isn't an easy death to die. It isn't hanging, like that. It's strangulation.

---

61. "Eleven Persons Indicted by Grand Jury in Missouri Lynching," *Norfolk Journal and Guide*, 6 January 1934, 1.
62. "South Afraid to Jail Lynchers Says Alexander; Only Twelve Convictions in 1,880 Mobbings Since 1900," *Norfolk Journal and Guide*, 17 February 1934, 2.

> They pulled me up two feet. I hung there, strangling slow.
>
> . . . I was hanging there and couldn't say anything. But I was listening, and while I was strangling I was saying over and over again to myself, "I am innocent. I am innocent."
>
> . . . [T]he old man's son, Harry Codeaux, got up on the side of the bridge and cut me down, and I fell to the bridge.[63]

The front-page appeal of such stories was undeniable. The *Pittsburgh Courier*, which published a front-page photograph of Moore hanging from the bridge, advised readers, "Gruesome as is this picture, The *Pittsburgh Courier* is publishing it for its moral effect." The *Courier* noted that Moore's mother "heard his pitiful, anguished pleas for help before [the] mob took him from jail."[64]

As 1934 began, the campaign for a federal antilynching law seemed to be gaining support. African-Americans, focused through the NAACP and their press, had rallied their own people, as well as a significant number of whites in religious and secular circles. President Roosevelt had added his voice to the chorus. The most viable opponents were the states' righters, who opposed federal intervention. The *Journal and Guide* analyzed this obstacle early in the year, noting that "this opposition to a Federal law to punish lynchers is found almost wholly in sections where lynching is most prevalent." By early 1934 opponents of federal intervention were advocating reform of state antilynching efforts, preferring that more authority to intervene in localities be given to the governors. But the editors noted that such a reform could easily be defeated by local authorities, adding that

> The task of those who would dislike to see a Federal law is to create sufficient public sentiment against lynching to revolutionize the whole system of state, county and municipal politics, as well as administration of criminal law.
>
> The JOURNAL AND GUIDE firmly believes that those who prefer this way out are clinging to a social ideal that is impossible of attainment without some form of legal support from the national authority.[65]

---

63. "I Was Lynched, but Lived to Talk; Nineteen-Year-Old Boy Relates Tragedy in Small La. Town," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 30 December 1933, 1.
64. "Step-Father of Slain White Girl Later Admits Crime," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 30 December 1933, 1.
65. "A Strange Contradiction," *Norfolk Journal and Guide*, 13 January 1934, 4. The *Journal and Guide* noted the "insuperable task" of eradicating lynch law without national assistance: There were fourteen states "in which lynching is frequently substituted for constituted law. In fact, 715 lynchings have occurred in these states since 1914. There are in these states approximately 1,200 counties, each with a local government of its own. There are in these counties approximately 3,000 municipal governments which feel that each one is a sovereign when it comes to handling a lynching."

As the hearings approached, however, there was optimism that the federal bill's opponents could be overcome by the force of reason and witnesses' testimony. In calling for more lobbying pressure, editors at the *Courier* noted optimistically that witnesses in support of national legislation would include not only "leading constitutional lawyers" but also nationally noted journalists such as Heywood Broun, the New York columnist then launching the guild movement for newspaper journalists, and "outstanding Southern leaders to urge upon the Senators the necessity for such a law."[66] The international news coverage often took its cue from the African-American press. The *Liverpool Echo*'s correspondent, Harold Butcher, relied on the NAACP's statistics and viewpoint. Butcher concluded that the Costigan-Wagner federal lynching bill would be a political and economic milestone because "at no time since the days of 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' have Negroes been so near to slavery as they are today."[67]

The first strong note of pessimism for the antilynching bill was heard in late February when the Associated Negro Press speculated that the bill faced defeat. On the same day Senate officials attempted "to bar Negro reporters from the press tables in the Caucus room of the United States Senate Office Building, where hearings on the Wagner-Costigan anti-lynching bill are being held." ANP editors Eugene Davidson and P. L. Prattis were asked to move on the grounds that all seats were reserved for members of the all-white Senate press gallery. After they refused, "Colored reporters from other newspapers took seats at the same table so that one was filled with white reporters and one with colored."[68]

After the Senate hearings, the more astute editors realized that a coalition of forces was aiming to defeat the Costigan-Wagner bill. In addition to those who had defeated the Dyer bill in 1921, new enemies were "seeking in every way at their command to poison public opinion," wrote the editors of the *Pittsburgh Courier*. The *Courier* cited the "Strange Company" of four groups of "vicious, callous and unreasoning" opponents. First were the lynchers—"a sadistic crew of mental Neanderthals." Next were the Hearst newspapers "and others of their type that prosper on sensationalism, mire, bigotry and prejudice." Third were the "rooster-on-a-dung-heap politicians represented by Huey Long, who hold office solely by virtue of their ability to rouse the ignorant prejudice of the type of American citizen so accurately portrayed by Erskine Caldwell." And finally, the Communist Party—including "professional

66. "More Pressure Needed," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 10 February 1934, 10.
67. "English Newspaper," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 24 February 1934, 2.
68. "Seek to Bar Press at Senate Hearing; Reporters for Negro Papers Ordered Away; Refuse to Leave Press Tables at Anti-Lynching Hearing; Bill Faces Defeat; Senate Building Supt. Says Tables for Whites Only," *Norfolk Journal and Guide*, 24 February 1934, 1.

Negro Communist" James Ford, who stubbornly contended that "the Costigan-Wagner bill is a capitalistic device to quiet the masses."[69]

That these sinister forces might kill the antilynching bill was signaled in mid-May. In a special report to the *Courier*, its Washington correspondent penetrated "the cloak of political mystery." He reported the "rumors that enemy forces were working zealously" to delay a vote on the Senate floor. "It was scheduled to come up last Thursday on the floor of the Senate for open debate, purported to lead to its passage," the correspondent wrote, "but for some undetermined cause the effort was defeated. It was also listed for early this week, but the enemy forces again won and kept the issue from reaching the floor."[70]

The *Courier*'s editors did not call for surrender but instead offered advice on how to "squelch these discordant voices and make this anti-lynching bill a law." The remedy, they advised, was biracial cooperation—"united and sustained action on the part of Negroes and their white friends."[71] In May, as the bill languished in the Senate, the *Courier* urged readers to "ACT NOW!"—telegraph congressmen and join one of the four hundred NAACP branches.[72] And as late as June, nearing the end of the session, the *Courier* warned that, "Only the united protest of the Negroes can save it."[73]

On the whole, no African-American newspaper was keener than the *Courier* in following the vicissitudes of the Costigan-Wagner Act and in rallying support behind the bill, mainly through the NAACP. The publisher, Robert S. Vann, was a lawyer before becoming publisher of the *Courier*. Vann's appreciation of the legislative process—and of its inherent dangers—let him foresee that the bill likely would fail. In May his editors conceded as much:

> If it fails to pass, a heavy responsibility will rest upon colored people. They have not rallied to the support of the bill as they should. They have not contributed financially as they should have done toward the lobbying fund. They have not even written the letters and sent the telegrams they should have sent to their U.S. Senators and Congressmen.[74]

Vann expressed a democrat's trust in the possibility of overcoming entrenched grievances through the expression of mass public opinion. He despaired that his readers—mostly in

69. "A Strange Company," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 3 March 1934, 10.
70. "Hope for Passage of Lynch Bill Dies; Several Efforts to Bring Issue Up for Debate on Floor of Senate Have Been Defeated—Senator Costigan Says Enemies Are at Work," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 19 May 1934, 1.
71. "A Strange Company," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 3 March 1934, 10.
72. "That Anti-Lynching Bill," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 12 May 1934, 10.
73. "The Last Call," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 2 June 1934, 10.
74. "That Anti-Lynching Bill," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 12 May 1934, 10.

the North—had not voiced their opinion with enough letters and telegrams and cash. At heart, he evidently understood that the lynching problem was *sectional*, special to the South, but he hoped that Northerners would see that an antilynching law was in their own interests insofar as they had family in the South or hoped to return there to visit. "Some people do not seem to understand or appreciate," Vann's paper noted toward the end of the campaign,

> the amount of thought and work and lobbying needed to get such a bill through Congress. Some interests, in order to pass legislation they want, have spent hundreds of thousands of dollars and many months of intensive work. Much work has been devoted to the Costigan-Wagner Bill, but that work has been hampered by an insufficiency of funds and a paucity of letters and telegrams to senators, representatives and President Roosevelt.[75]

Vann's editorial writers wondered at the sudden stall in the move toward an antilynching bill. "Last winter colored people were greatly aroused about the lynching evil and eager to have the Costigan-Wagner bill passed," but

> as usual, however, their enthusiasm has seemed to wane. Why? Are they indifferent to lynching? Are they just careless? We think the latter is the case. Negroes do want to end lynching. Negroes do want to see the Costigan-Wagner Anti-Lynching Bill become a law. Negroes do want to see lynchers punished. But unless they make Congress know this with immediate telegrams, the enemies of the bill will kill it.[76]

In the next several weeks, the *Courier* revealed the strategy of the bill's enemies and the mechanics of their attack. "The plot to scuttle the Costigan-Wagner Anti-Lynching Bill is full fledged," the editors warned. "White enemies have done all in their power to prevent the bill from coming to a vote."[77] The leverage of the powerful block of Southern Democrat senators, including McKellar of Tennessee, succeeded in bottling up the bill. Despite appeals by Costigan and Wagner, the president of the Senate, Joseph T. Robinson, blocked efforts to bring the bill to a debate and vote. "Senator Robinson," wrote the *Courier*, "turned a deaf ear, as he has all spring."[78] "Congress will soon be adjourned," the *Courier* warned. "Unless the Costigan-Wagner Bill is passed at this session, it will never be passed. Get busy. Send letters. Send telegrams. Do it now."[79] That same week, Walter White

75. "The Last Call," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 2 June 1934, 10.
76. "The Last Call," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 2 June 1934, 10.
77. "The Last Call," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 2 June 1934, 10.
78. "Blocks Lynch Bill Vote," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 23 June 1934, 3.
79. "The Last Call," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 2 June 1934, 10.

declared in the *New York Times* that organizations "with a total membership of 40,000,000" were being defeated because

> a very small bloc in the Senate seems determined to keep the bill from being voted on. . . . One Senator who comes from a State which has one of the worst of lynching records is reported as saying that the bill will be voted on "only over my dead body." Another Senator, also from a State with a very bad record, has threatened to filibuster if the President's request for a vote on the measure is complied with.[80]

Three weeks later, the year-long campaign ended like that—quietly, without a public confrontation between the antilynching forces and the Southern Democrats. In late June, as Congress prepared to adjourn, the *Courier* lamented that "there is little doubt but what the Costigan-Wagner anti-lynching bill has been stabbed to death—at least for this session." McKellar succeeded in the parliamentary maneuver of blocking a vote on the bill by objecting to unanimous consent to consider the measure. At the NAACP, Walter White gave up, for 1934. White's statement, issued in New York, illustrated the bitterness of the campaign. He branded all senators and others who blocked consideration of the bill as "assistant lynchers."[81] Although White was already planning for the 1935 session of Congress, this antilynching bill and all others introduced during the 1930s and 1940s were turned into so many dead letters.

The failure of the NAACP and the African-American press to win in the legislative forum obscured the many other tangible and intangible successes resulting from the campaign in 1933 and 1934. The high degree of publicity in the establishment press helped to generate a climate hostile to lynching and, conversely, supportive of law enforcement officials in their protection of prisoners. The numbers of recorded lynchings never again reached the peak of 1933 (twenty-six, including two whites). During 1934, fifteen African-Americans were lynched, and during 1935, eighteen (and two whites). Afterwards, the numbers of lynchings of African-Americans dropped precipitously—to eight each in 1936 and 1937 and to six in 1938. Throughout the 1940s, when the last effort at a federal antilynching statute was made, figures ranged from one to six a year.[82] There is no such accounting for how many lynchings were averted during the period of the campaign itself. In Tennessee during June 1934, one sheriff defied a mob of more than two hundred, smuggling two white

---

80. Walter White, "The Costigan-Wagner Bill; Its Prompt Enactment Urged As Means to Curb Lynching," *New York Times*, 4 June 1934, 16.
81. "Tennessee Senator Blocks Lynch Bill Vote," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 23 June 1934, 3.
82. Zangrando, *NAACP Crusade*, 7.

men out the back door of the jail and taking them to Memphis for safe keeping.[83]

Lynching had clearly risen to the political agenda in some states as well. In Illinois in April and May 1934, the state Senate and House unanimously passed a resolution urging Congress to pass either the Costigan-Wagner bill or an antilynching bill sponsored by U.S. Representative Oscar DePriest of Chicago, the nation's only African-American congressman.[84] The same session of the Illinois legislature also passed 98-2 an anti-Jim Crow bill—the "most drastic anti-discrimination measure ever passed by the State legislature"—stating that "persons of every race and color may come to the World Fair this summer without fear of discrimination."[85]

Defeating poor legislation could also constitute a victory for the movement. In Mississippi early in 1934, the Senate approved 19-14 a "Hangman bill" that would have allowed the father of an alleged assault victim to spring the trap at a legal hanging of three men convicted of the crime. After an "unprecedented wave of protest," the Mississippi House killed the bill. The Senate had reportedly passed the bill in gratitude to the father, who "used his influence to prevent the lynching of the Negroes on the occasion of their trial three weeks ago."[86]

Clearly, the antilynching movement contributed to the biracial dialogue. These were the people drawn into the Commission on Interracial Cooperation (eventually, the Southern Regional Council), the Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching, and the Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching. These associations in turn, as Robert Zangrando has noted, "helped generally to hasten lynching's decline." Although Southern law enforcement officials and juries changed only slowly during the interwar years, Zangrando notes that as early as 1933 Arthur Raper's study of lynching had documented 704 prevented lynchings during the preceding nineteen years.[87]

The campaign, of course, helped to build the NAACP as a voice for African-Americans. Membership campaigns sponsored by the African-American press raised thousands of one-dollar and higher donations to be used as the NAACP saw fit in lobbying for the antilynching bill. The NAACP continued its efforts for an antilynching bill until 1948, exerting political pressure from outside the South. Although the NAACP never

---

83. "Sheriff Flees to Dodge Bloodthirsty Lynchers; Two Whites Saved; Prisoners Accused of Rape," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 16 June 1934, 2.
84. Associated Negro Press, "Anti-Lynching Resolution Passes Illinois Senate," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 28 April 1934, 2.
85. Associated Negro Press, "Illinois Senate Passes Anti-Jim Crow Bill; Drastic Bill to Halt Jim-Crow at Fair," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 5 May 1934, 2.
86. "'Hangman' Bill Shelved; Senate Passed Measure," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 17 March 1934, 2.
87. Zangrando, *NAACP Crusade*, 11.

defeated the coalition of Southern Democrats, the organization did manage to influence the senators indirectly by appealing to constituents. Walter White, as Zangrando points out, "consistently argued that the NAACP's investigations, exposes, and campaigns for a federal antilynching law awakened public concern, created a political dialogue on the topic of violence and induced the South to reconsider its most blatant forms of racist aggression."[88]

88. Zangrando, *NAACP Crusade*, 11.

THE *NEW ENGLAND COURANT*: VOICE OF ANGLICANISM

The Role of Religion in Colonial Journalism

Wm. David Sloan

6 AUGUST 1721 HAD BEEN a difficult Sabbath day for Cotton Mather. After delivering a sermon an hour and a half in length to his congregation at Boston's North Church, he spent the hot afternoon visiting members in their homes. Already, several had contracted smallpox, and others were in continual fear that they would fall victim also. He had become the target himself of other townspeople outraged that he had encouraged a new and dangerous procedure of deliberately "inoculating" patients with the disease. "It is," he wrote in his diary that night, "the Hour and Power of Darkness on this miserable Town; and I need an uncommon assistance from Above, that I may not miscarry by any forward or angry Impatience, or fall into any of the common Iniquities, of Lying, and Railing and Malice: or be weary of well-doing and of overcoming Evil with Good."[1]

On that same Sunday, two other Boston residents, following services at the town's lone Anglican church, visited the shop of James Franklin, a struggling young printer, to read the proofs of essays they had written for the first issue of their new newspaper, planned for publication the next day. One essay lampooned Mather and his fellow Puritan clergy, and the second attacked them for their ignorance in advocating inoculation.

The *New England Courant* began publication on 7 August 1721, in the midst of the controversy over inoculation. Many historians have spoken of it as America's "first free newspaper." The roots of the paper's founding, however, reached back into reli-

Wm. David Sloan is a professor of journalism at the University of Alabama, and author or editor of nine books on media history and writing.

For assistance in funding the research for this study, the author wishes to thank the Research Grants Committee of the University of Alabama, the Research and Service Committee of the College of Communication, and the National Endowment for the Humanities. He also is grateful to the staff of the American Antiquarian Society for use of their facilities.

1. 6 August 1721, *Diary of Cotton Mather, 1681–1724*, 2 vols. (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, 1912), 2:636–37.

gious skirmishing in Boston in the seventeenth century, and the combat from which it resulted began in earnest in 1719. The religious controversies on which the *Courant* was founded originated even earlier, in the efforts of dissident Protestants to break away from the Anglican Church and the concomitant Anglican attempts to force dissidents to submit to the Church.

Media historians normally have explained the birth of the *Courant* as a result of Enlightenment attempts by printer-editor James Franklin and a group of "young Boston wits" to liberate society from the suffocating intellectual control that religious orthodoxy held. In actuality, the *Courant* was founded not to free Bostonians from religious control, but as part of a long-term effort to destroy Puritan popularity and establish in its stead the Church of England as the official church in Massachusetts Bay and the other British colonies in North America. The exact time that the *Courant* was started—at the height of an acrimonious public debate over smallpox inoculation—was chosen because the Puritan clergy's support of an unproven and apparently dangerous medical procedure seemed to the *Courant*'s founders to offer an ideal, although irrelevant, issue on which the clergy could be popularly attacked. Although inoculation was a side issue, it was particularly important to one of the two prime founders of the *Courant*, William Douglass, a leading medical doctor who was miffed that the clergy would advocate inoculation without his approval.

The key factor in the *Courant*'s founding was aggressive Anglicanism. The key figures were John Checkley, an ardent Anglican controversialist, and Douglass, who shared the Anglican faith of his co-founder. To understand the founding of the *Courant*, one must focus on the religious contention between Anglicanism and Puritanism and especially Checkley's aggressive role in the controversy.[2] James Franklin, the printer and historians' hero, was, although an Anglican himself, little more than a bystander. Even later, when he became more prominent in the operations of the *Courant*, he never assumed the role of liberator.

Throughout the history of colonial Massachusetts, religion played a key, perhaps even the central role. One of the issues in the Puritan-Anglican struggle was the freedom of the individual believer and the local congregation versus the authority of the church. In that debate, Puritans aimed at establishing local autonomy, while the Church of England aimed at exerting its control. Massachusetts Puritans had managed to keep their religious freedom by aggressively opposing the efforts of the Church of England and the English monarchy to establish Episcopacy in the colony. Media historians, however, traditionally

2. Several historians have noticed that a number of writers for the *Courant* were Anglicans, but none has noted the extensiveness of the Anglican ties or explored the ramifications of those ties.

have claimed that it was the Puritans who attempted to repress independent thinking. In reality, the Puritans' efforts helped assure both political and religious independence in Massachusetts. In defending their religious freedom, Puritans, it is true, did attack Anglicanism energetically, but still they permitted the Anglicans and members of other minority churches to practice their faith. Ostracism of Anglicans was founded on the unpopularity of the Anglican faith with the general public rather than on official sanction. Anglicans' efforts, on the other hand, were aimed at officially establishing the Church of England and displacing Puritanism.[3] Within this framework, then, the *New England Courant*, an Anglican spokesman, was founded, not to advocate freedom of ideas, but as part of an effort to set up the Church of England in Massachusetts Bay as the officially established church and to restrict other faiths.

With the founding of Boston's first Anglican church, King's Chapel, in 1689, its members at once became energetic in the attempts to establish Anglicanism in Massachusetts by tying church matters to political ones.[4] The most forceful advocate for

3. The literature on the history of Anglicanism and Puritanism is extensive. I have drawn primarily on these works: Sanford H. Cobb, *The Rise of Religious Liberty in America: A History* (New York: Macmillan, 1902); Arthur Lyon Cross, *The Anglican Episcopate and the American Colonies* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1924); Henry Wilder Foote, *Annals of King's Chapel*, 2 vols. (Boston: Little, Brown, 1896); George Hodges, "The Episcopalians," and John Winthrop Platner, "The Congregationalists," in *The Religious History of New England* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1917); George Francis Marlowe, *Churches of Old New England: Their Architecture and Their Architects, Their Pastors and Their People* (New York: Macmillan, 1947); Cotton Mather, *Theopolis Americana* (Boston, 1692); Richard Niebuhr, "The Idea of Covenant and American Democracy," *Church History* 23 (June 1954): 126–35; Susan M. Reed, *Church and State in Massachusetts, 1691–1740* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1914); Darrett B. Rutman, *American Puritanism: Faith and Practice* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1970), and "The Mirror of Puritan Authority," in *Law and Authority in Colonial America: Selected Essays*, ed. George A. Bilias (Barre, Mass.: Barre Publishers, 1965), 149–67; Samuel Sewall, *The Diary of Samuel Sewall*, ed. M. Halsey Thomas (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1973); Clifford K. Shipton, "The Locus of Authority in Colonial Massachusetts," in Bilias, *Law and Authority*, 136–48, and "A Plea for Puritanism," *American Historical Review* 40 (April 1935): 460–67; Edmund P. Slafter, *John Checkley: or Evolution of Religious Tolerance in Massachusetts Bay*, 2 vols. (Boston: Prince Society, 1897); Charles C. Tiffany, *A History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America* (New York: Christian Literature, 1895); John Frederick Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism in North America* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1984).

4. One of their goals was to get a governor appointed who was an adherent of the Church of England and therefore would assist in the establishment efforts of the church. As one of the first official acts of King's Chapel, its minister, the Reverend Samuel Myles, and wardens petitioned the crown, who "has bin graciously pleased to have particular regard to the religion of the Church of England," to appoint a new colonial governor and council so that the Church might "grow up and flourish, and bring fruites of religion and loyalty, to the honour of Almighty God, and the promotion and increase of Your Majesty." Quoted in Foote, *Annals of King's Chapel*, 1:102. A similar petition the church's ministers, wardens, and vestry wrote in 1713 indicated their continuing interest in getting an Anglican governor. "I am humbly of the opinion," stated Myles,

Anglican establishment in Massachusetts was John Checkley. Since Anglicans were greatly outnumbered in Boston and their presumptions and practices held in contempt by most of the populace, they had found it necessary to act with prudence. In Checkley, however, they gained a zealous spokesman who did not shrink from controversy. Indeed, he relished it. He was Boston's leading voice for the extreme High Church faction that believed that the Anglican Church was the only legitimate church and that there was no salvation outside of it. Staunchly Tory in politics, Checkley and fellow High Churchers tended to tie religion to state and to be non-jurors, that is, supporters of the Stuarts' claims to the British throne. Checkley himself still held to the view that kings ruled by divine right and that subjects must be passively obedient—although that notion had been outdated in England since the Glorious Revolution. Although Checkley was politically High Tory, he is best described as, first, a devout Christian, then an ardent Anglican, and a fiery controversialist. His New England theology embraced three primary tenets: first, Anglicanism was the only valid faith; second, the Church of England was automatically, by British law, the established church in the American colonies; and, third, all other churches, especially Puritan ones, were invalid, their clergy illegitimate, and salvation obtained through them worthless. While some other Boston Anglicans, if not most, held to the same precepts, they were circumspect in making their beliefs known. Checkley, in contrast, declared them so fiercely that he not only alienated his Puritan opponents but also created contention within King's Chapel. It was Checkley who, seeking a forum from which he could attack Puritanism, served as the primary force behind the founding of the *New England Courant*.

Born in Boston in 1680 and educated there, Checkley went abroad and studied at the University of Oxford. After further travels on the Continent, he returned to Boston in 1710, went into the bookselling and apothecary businesses, and developed an avid interest in theological subjects. His trenchant efforts to argue the views of the Church of England played the largest role in the controversies that engulfed Boston in the 1720s. He began the polemics in 1719 when he published a tract by the non-juror Charles Leslie, with the implication that Puritans were as misguided in their religious faith as were deists.[5] The following year

"the church here, and also in other parts of this province, would increase much more under a Governor that was a constant communicant thereof, from whom we might reasonably expect all requisite protection and encouragement." "Humble Address to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty," *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, 1st ser., 7:217.

5. Charles Leslie, *The Religion of Jesus Christ the only True Religion; or, A Short and Easie Method with the Deists, Wherein the Certainty Of The Christian Religion Is demonstrated by Infallible Proof from Four Rules, which are Incompatible to any Imposture that ever yet has been, or that can possibly be* . . . (Boston: Printed by Thomas Fleet, 1719).

a tract Checkley wrote attacking the Calvinist doctrine of Puritans evoked a biting response from Thomas Walter, nephew of Cotton Mather.[6] Both of Checkley's publications declared the authority of bishops, an assertion that was anathema to Congregationalists. Just a year later he helped found the *New England Courant* to attack the leading Puritan clergy. One of his personal attacks on Walter in the third issue was so scandalous, however, that his associates on the newspaper and in King's Chapel persuaded him to sever his ties with the publication.

He continued his assault on Puritanism nonetheless. In 1723 and 1724 he published tracts arguing for the episcopacy's authority over dioceses. The episcopate had originated with Christ's apostles, he declared, and the Church of England's bishops could be traced in an unbroken line back to them. Since the dissenters from the Church of England, the Puritans, could not claim such a succession of their clergy, they were "Carnal Libertines" and Christianity's enemies.[7] He followed those publications with *A Discourse concerning Episcopacy*, an essay written by Leslie with additions by Checkley, in which he asserted that only sacraments administered by proper bishops were legitimate—that any Puritan parent having a child baptized by the Puritan clergy was "guilty of the blood of [the] child." Furthermore, he claimed, sacraments, ordinances, and baptisms administered by anyone else—such as Boston's Puritan clergy—were a "Sacrilege, and Rebellion against Christ." Clergy who had not been ordained by proper bishopic authority acted as a "vile Prostitution" of the true priesthood of Christ. They "outdid the wickedness of [the Jews] in persecuting" the apostles.[8] He continued this line of argument in other pamphlets published in 1724 and in a published speech in which he claimed that "the Church of England, and NO OTHER, is established" in New England.[9] Checkley's arguments naturally angered Puritans, and were so strident that they even created dissension in his own church. A High Church faction, however, coalesced around Checkley, and, although small in number, its aggressive members dominated the affairs of King's Chapel for awhile. It was

---

6. Checkley's composition was *Choice Dialogues Between A Godly Minister and an Honest Country Man Concerning Election and Predestination* (Boston: 1720). Walter replied with *A Choice Dialogue Between John Faustus, a Conjurer, and Jack Tory His Friend . . . By a Young Strippling* (Boston: 1720).

7. *Modest Proof of the Order andGovernment Settled by Christ and his Apostles in the Church* (Boston: 1723); *A Defence of . . . A Modest Proof* (Boston: 1724).

8. Appendix to Leslie, *A Short and Easie Method*, 8th ed. (Boston and London: 1723).

9. *A Modest Proof of the Order and Government settled by Christ and his Apostles in the Church; A Discourse Shewing Who is a true Pastor of the Church of Christ* (Boston: 1723) and *The Speech of Mr. John Checkley upon his Tryal at Boston, in New England, for publishing the Short and Easy Method with the Deists, etc.* (London: 1730). Both pamphlets are quoted in Foote, *Annals of King's Chapel*, 1:295–96. *Speech of Checkley* is reprinted in Slafter, *John Checkley*, 2:31–34.

this faction that served as the original group of writers for the *New England Courant*.

Anglican presumptuousness had annoyed the Puritan populace ever since the appearance of Gov. Edmond Andros and King's Chapel, leading to continual contention between the Boston Anglicans and their neighbors. It was manifested in such incidents as the breaking of windows in King's Chapel, although whether the culprits were angry Puritans or mischievous boys never was determined. The first two decades of the eighteenth century saw a continual struggle between Anglicans trying to establish the Church of England as the official church and Puritans trying to restrain the Anglicans. Nothing Anglicans had done, however, did as much as Checkley's attacks to provoke Puritan response.

Especially vigilant in opposing the Anglican maneuvers were the Puritan patriarch Increase Mather and his son Cotton. Possessing the best minds in the colonies and the most articulate pens, the Mathers were more than equal to the task of combatting their Anglican adversaries. With time, as Anglicans intensified their efforts in Boston and Massachusetts, the theological contention between the leading advocates of the Puritan and Anglican causes took on a highly personal tone. It embodied the antagonism that sometimes exists when adversaries are in close proximity and continually confront each other as a result. By 1721 the contention had become a personal feud between Cotton Mather and Checkley.

The unpopularity of their theological views with the general populace had prevented the Anglican advocates from making much headway in Boston. A medical plague that entered the town in 1721, however, gave the High Church faction in King's Chapel an opportunity to attack Mather and his fellow Puritan clergymen in a way that, on the surface, at least, seemed unrelated to Anglicanism. Although John Checkley and other members of the faction used religious arguments for part of their assault, their arguments were not framed in Anglican theology, and for the most part they never rose above personalized invective; their intent, though, was to persecute Mather and the Puritan clergy in order to destroy their popularity as part of a strategy to establish the Anglican Church on the ruins of Puritanism. Having failed to carry the theological argument, they now would resort to vilification based on the Puritan clergymen's unpopular advocacy of inoculation for smallpox. To provide a forum for their attacks, Boston's High Church advocates would found a newspaper of their own.

In the early 1700s in Europe and America, more deaths resulted from smallpox than from any other cause. The mortality and the loathsome nature of the disease made it especially dreaded. Boston itself had experienced six outbreaks before 1721. The epidemic of 1677–78 took the lives of seven hundred

residents, 12 percent of the town's population, including thirty on the single grim day of 30 September 1677.

In April 1721, smallpox again entered Boston. The town had enjoyed a nineteen-year respite from the disease, the longest in its history. In the interim, a new generation of children had been born, and they had borne their own children, resulting in a loss of immunity that comes from exposure to the disease. Many citizens had forgotten the early signs of the disease and lived with a false sense of safety. Town officials had allowed quarantining measures to grow lax. Conditions were right for the most fatal epidemic Boston was to face. The town's selectmen (the equivalent of today's city council) learned of the first smallpox case on 8 May and began taking steps to halt the disease's spread.[10] Preventive measures, however, were inadequate; and by June the disease was out of control. As it spread, wrote Cotton Mather, it held "mankind in a continual bondage, through the fear of being once in their life seized with it, yea, of having their life extinguished by it":

> The apprehensions of dying a very terrible death, after a burning for many days, in as painful, as loathsome a malady, or at best of having many weary nights roll away under the uneasy circumstances of loins filled with a loathsome disease, and recovering with boils, and scars, and wounds, not quickly to be forgotten, hold the children of men in the terrors of death.[11]

Hundreds of Boston's residents fled the town, and of those who remained virtually every household experienced the contagion. By September the number of deaths was so great that the selectmen limited the length of time that funeral bells could toll.[12] By the time it had receded the following year, 6,000 of Boston's 10,500 residents had contracted the disease, and more than 800 had died.

Eighteen days after Boston's authorities learned of the presence of smallpox, Cotton Mather wrote in his diary of the method of inoculation, which "has never been used in America, nor indeed in [England]," and that he planned to "procure a Consult of our Physicians, and lay the matter before them."[13] It was a bold and unpopular plan—bold not only because the results of inocu-

---

10. *Selectmen's Minutes*, 1721, 81, cited in Reginald H. Fitz, "Zabdiel Boylston, Inoculator, and the Epidemic of Smallpox in Boston in 1721," *Bulletin of the Johns Hopkins Hospital* 22 (September 1911): 316; and *Boston Record Commissioners*, 8:154, cited in *Diary of Cotton Mather* 2:618 n.

11. Mather to Dr. James Jurin, 21 May 1723, *Selected Letters of Cotton Mather*, comp. Kenneth Silverman (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1971), 360.

12. *Massachusetts Acts and Resolves* 10:105, cited in John B. Blake, "The Inoculation Controversy in Boston: 1721–1722," *New England Quarterly* 25 (December 1952): 489–506.

13. 26 May 1721, *Diary of Cotton Mather*, 2:620–21.

lation were uncertain, but precisely because it was unpopular. Injecting a disease into a healthy person seemed to most laymen, and to most physicians too, not only ludicrous but hazardous as well. The dangers of contracting smallpox through normal means were great enough; so why should one subject oneself or another to the disease intentionally? Despite the certain popular opposition, Mather determined to test the method. He was motivated perhaps equally by his inquisitiveness about science and medicine and by his concern to "do good" for people. How intense the public reaction would be, however, he had not foreseen; and he had not expected that his Anglican adversaries would take advantage of his goodwill to unleash a withering and prolonged attack on him.

Eager to learn all he could about inoculation, he borrowed volumes of the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London* containing articles about the procedure from William Douglass, a recent arrival in Boston and the town's only physician with a degree in medicine,. Douglass, one of the *Courant*'s founders, would use the fact that the volumes were his as one reason for condemning Mather. Convinced that inoculation was the only means of preventing the fatal spread of smallpox, Mather on 6 June 1721—only four weeks after smallpox was discovered—prepared an address to Boston's medical practitioners, telling them the substance of what he had learned, drawing largely on the volumes borrowed from Douglass.[14] Although he had a firmer grasp on scientific and medical principles than anyone else in the American colonies, he was ever cautious about appearing to intrude into the physicians' field or to discredit them. He therefore "humbly advise[d]" that the procedure be tried "under the management of a Skilful PHYSICIAN" and "request[ed] that you would meet for a *Consultation* upon this Occasion, and so deliberate upon it, that whoever first begin the practice (*if you Approve it should be begun at all*) may have the countenance of his worthy Brethren to fortify him in it."[15] Despite Mather's plea, only one of the ten physicians, Dr. Zabdiel Boylston, a neighbor of Mather, agreed to try the procedure.[16]

The other physicians, along with the public, responded ferociously. Boylston first inoculated three members of his own household and, after a few days observing them, seven more people. This being the first attempt at immunology in the English-speaking world, word quickly spread around the little town of Boston, already in hysteria because of the pervasive danger of

14. *Diary of Cotton Mather*, 2:624 n. Mather noted in his diary on 23 June 1721 that he was "entreating" the physicians to consider inoculation. *Diary*, 628.

15. In George Lyman Kittredge, "Some Lost Works of Cotton Mather," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 44 (1912): 434.

16. Boston's other physicians were Drs. Archibald, Clark, Cutler, Dalhonde, Davis, Perkins, Williams, White, Douglass, Gibbins, and Steward. Among this group, the final three were members of King's Chapel and instrumental in the founding of the *Courant*.

smallpox, that Boylston was deliberately spreading the disease. Furthermore, people believed that using a man-made procedure to cure a calamity imposed by Providence violated God's sovereignty. They were furious at both Boylston and Mather. "The Destroyer," Mather recorded in his diary for 16 July, "being enraged at the Proposal of any Thing, that may rescue the Lives of our poor People from him, has taken a strange Possession of the People on this Occasion. They rave, they rail, they blaspheme; they talk not only like Ideots but also like Franticks, And not only the Physician who began the Experiment, but I also am an Object of their Fury; their furious Obloquies and Invectives."[17] There is no record of exactly what proportion of the population was opposed to his effort, but only about 240 of Boston's 10,500 residents received inoculation.

The town's physicians, with Douglass at the forefront, led the public case against inoculation.[18] They were supported by the government through the actions of the selectmen. That fact has special meaning for media history, since a standard assumption has been that the government was in league with the Puritan clergy and that in combination they acted to restrain the *Courant*. Whether the opponents and the proponents of inoculation divided along religious lines is unclear.[19] But it is perhaps notable that none of the seven most visible advocates was Anglican.[20] A number of the prominent opponents, including Douglass, were members of King's Chapel.[21]

---

17. 16 July 1721, *Diary of Cotton Mather*, 2:632.

18. Providing an account of the inoculation controversy, Mather in 1722 wrote that "our unhappy physicians . . . poisoned and bewitched our people with a blind rage." Mather to Hans Sloane, 10 March 1722, *Selected Letters of Cotton Mather*, 347. "And how far," he wrote another correspondent, "they can comfort themselves in seeing above a thousand of their neighbors within a few months killed before their eyes, when they knew a method that in ordinary way would have saved them, *they know better than I!*" Mather to Dr. James Jurin, 21 May 1723, *Selected Letters of Cotton Mather*, 365. In a similar tone he wrote in 1724 that the physicians played "the part of butchers or tools for the destroyer to our perishing people, and with envious and horrid insinuations infuriated the world against [Boylston]." Mather to Jurin, 15 December 1724, *Selected Letters of Cotton Mather*, 402.

19. Later, after the epidemic had abated, Cotton Mather wrote Dr. James Jurin of the Royal Society of London that the opposition had been contrived by a "political or ecclesiastical" party whose main purpose was to discredit the Puritan clergy. "It is with the utmost indignation," he wrote, "that some have sometimes beheld the practise made a mere party business, and a Jacobite, or High-flying party, counting themselves bound in duty to their party to decry it, or perhaps the party disaffected unto such and such persons of public station and merit, under the obligations of a party to decline it." 21 May 1723, *Selected Letters of Cotton Mather*, 361.

20. Boylston was a member of Brattle Street Church, and the others were all clergymen in dissenting Protestant churches. Along with Increase and Cotton Mather, they were Benjamin Colman and his associate pastor William Cooper of Brattle Street Church, Thomas Prince of Old South Church, and John Webb of New North Church.

21. Philip Cash, "Professionalization of Boston Medicine, 1760–1803," in *Medicine*

Douglass's opposition was based on several factors. He argued first that inoculation was an unsound medical procedure. In his proposal for using inoculation, Mather had relied on information about the practice from Turkey and Africa. Douglass argued that both were backward and superstitious lands and that, therefore, any practice arising in them was ludicrous.[22] He argued further that inoculation interfered with God's providential working in human affairs.[23] Douglass had personal reasons for his opposition as well. Although there is less evidence on this point, it appears that Douglass wanted to gain income from the medical care he provided patients afflicted with smallpox.[24] He also was irritated at Mather for having used information about inoculation from copies of *Philosophical Transactions* borrowed from him and therefore to which Douglass believed he had a proprietary right.[25] Finally, he was angry at Mather for presuming to offer medical advice, Douglass's domain.[26] While Douglass

---

in Colonial Massachusetts, 1620–1820, ed. G. B. Warden (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1980), 73, states that Boston's small group of physicians was "greatly influenced by such foreign-born doctors as . . . Douglass" in the early 1700s and that division along religious and political lines (Congregational/Whig vs. Anglican/Tory) was "central to Boston medicine" after the mid-1700s.

22. Douglass, *Inoculation of the Small-Pox as practised in Boston* . . . . (Boston: 1722), and *Boston News-Letter*, 17 July 1721. After Mather and Boylston had published a pamphlet defending inoculation, Douglass responded that their document was "an Army of half a Dozen or half a Score *Africans*, by others call'd Negroe Slaves, who tell us . . . that it is practised in their own Country. The more blundering and Negroish they tell their Story, it is the more credible says C.M. . . . There is not a Race of Men on Earth more *False Lyars*, &c. Their Accounts of what was done in their Country was never depended upon till now for Arguments sake . . . *O Rare Farce!*"

23. In a letter he wrote for the *Boston News-Letter*, 17 July 1721, he asked the clergy to explain "how the trusting more the extra groundless *Machinations of Men* [inoculation] than to our Preserver in the ordinary course of Nature, may be consistent with that Devotion and Subjection we owe to the all-wise Providence of God Almighty."

24. Benjamin Colman, pastor of Brattle Street Church, later claimed that some physicians opposed inoculation "because it would have saved the Town Thousands of pounds that is now in their pockets." Douglass himself, explaining to a medical colleague why he had not had time to record his medical observations, wrote that he found it "more natural to begin by reducing my smallpox accounts into bills and notes for the improvement of my purse." Quoted in Kenneth Silverman, *The Life and Times of Cotton Mather* (New York: Harper and Row, 1984), 345.

25. He complained about having "lent to a credulous vain Preacher, Mather, Jr., the *Philosophical Transactions* Nos. 339 and 377 which contain Timonius' and Pylermus' account of Inoculation." After Mather had returned the volumes, Douglass refused to lend them again. Douglass to Cadwallader Colden, 20 February 1722, *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, 4th ser., 2:164. Fitz, Boylston's biographer, states that Douglass "evidently was aggrieved that . . . a clergyman should borrow his books and select therefrom communications upon a medical subject and recommend them to the consideration of the physicians of Boston without consultation with the owner of the books in question." Fitz, "Zabdiel Boylston," 318.

26. The fact that Mather had taken precautions to reassure Boston's physicians that he did not wish to trespass into their profession did not ameliorate

opposed inoculation for a variety of reasons, one thing is clear. His interest in helping found the *Courant* as an anti-inoculation mouthpiece had nothing to do with urging a liberalized secularization on Boston society, as historians have been prone to claim.

It was Douglass's sense of superiority to Boston's other physicians that led him to attack Boylston publicly, thus starting the newspaper war over inoculation. In a letter to the *Boston News-Letter*, signed with the pseudonym "W. Philanthropos," Douglass called Boylston a "Cutter for the Stone," a "quack," and "Ignorant" and "unfit," and challenged his professional competence in administering inoculations.[27] The proponents of inoculation responded to the attack with a letter of their own to the *Boston Gazette*.[28] Written primarily by Benjamin Colman, Boylston's pastor, but signed by inoculation's other five clerical supporters, the letter defended Boylston as a skilled and tender physician, criticized Douglass's conceit, called for more charity than Douglass's letter exhibited, and refuted his religious argument against inoculation. The religious stand has special interest for the media historian, for it reveals that it was not the Puritan clergy who restrained scientific "progress" through their limited theological views but the opponents of inoculation—those same people who helped found the *New England Courant*—who relied

---

Douglass's umbrage. For evidence of Mather's propriety on the matter, see, for example, Mather's letter in Kittredge, "Some Lost Works of Cotton Mather," 434. Having received more formal training than Boston's other medical practitioners and seemingly egotistical on the matter, Douglass had a low opinion of other Boston physicians. "[W]e abound with Practitioners," he wrote a British acquaintance in 1721, "though no other graduate than myself. . . . Our American practitioners are so rash and officious that the saying in Ecclesiasticus may with much propriety be applied to them, He that sinneth before his Maker let him fall into the hands of the physician." *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, 4th ser., 2:164. He was especially sensitive to what he considered meddling by Mather. In a letter to a medical colleague in England, he referred contemptuously to "a certain credulous Preacher of this place called Mather . . . [who] preached up Inoculation." Douglass to Dr. Alexander Stuart, 24 September 1721, quoted in Otho T. Beall, Jr., and Richard H. Shryock, *Cotton Mather: First Significant Figure in American Medicine* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1954), 112. Beall and Shryock argue, however, that Mather was more widely read in medicine than Douglass was.

27. *Boston News-Letter*, 24 July 1721. Although most media historians have argued that it was the *New England Courant* which opened the "crusade" against inoculation, an examination of the already existing newspapers and pamphlets makes it obvious that an acrimonious public debate was already being waged before the *Courant* appeared. For an elaboration of this point, see C. Edward Wilson, "The Boston Inoculation Controversy: A Revisionist Interpretation," *Journalism History* 7 (Spring 1980): 16–19, 40. It also is clear from entries in Cotton Mather's diary that acrimony existed several weeks before the *Courant* began publication. The *Courant's* writers merely jumped on the bandwagon.

28. *Boston Gazette*, 31 July 1721. It perhaps is no coincidence that the publisher of the *Gazette*, William Brooker, was a Puritan and that the publisher of the newspaper that carried the arguments of the anti-inoculators, the *News-Letter*, was the Anglican John Campbell, a member of King's Chapel. Foote, *Annals of King's Chapel*, 1:173.

on traditional religious presumptions. The clergy's letter read in part:

> Men of Piety and Learning after much *Serious tho't* have come into an opinion of the Safety of the . . . method of *Inoculating the Small pox*. . . . Cannot they give into the method or practice without having their *devotion and subjection to the All-wise Providence of God Almighty* call'd in question? . . . Do we not in the use of all means depend on GOD's *blessing*? and *live* by that alone? And can't a devout heart depend on God in the use of *this* means [i.e., inoculation] . . . ? For, what hand or art of *Man* is there in this Operation more than in *bleeding, blistering* and a Score more things in *Medical use*?[29]

Throughout the following months of the controversy, the clergy would have to resort frequently to defending themselves against arguments that inoculation violated man's requirement to depend on God.[30]

By the end of July, when the clergymen published their letter supporting Boylston, conditions were ripe for the founding of the *New England Courant*. The old contention between Anglicans and Puritans had created an atmosphere of religious and personal controversy, but, owing to the overwhelming Puritan sentiment in Boston, the Anglicans could not win the argument on theological grounds. The stand of the Puritan clergy on the inoculation issue handed their adversaries the ideal cause. It was unpopular, and it could be attacked on the exact grounds—violation of man's reliance on God—that was popular with Puritans. As if to give the High Churchmen the final piece they needed, the leading advocate of inoculation happened to be also the leading Puritan figure, Cotton Mather. And in that advocacy, he had provoked the professional and personal ire of Douglass, who now was determined to attack relentlessly. These forces, some of them generations old and others only a few days, culminated in the summer of 1721. It was exactly one week after the appearance of the clergy's letter that the *Courant* published its first issue.

The *Courant*'s operators introduced their newspaper with a statement that its purpose was to oppose inoculation. Media historians, however, have declared that its purpose was to liberate colonial America from the repressiveness of religion. According to this interpretation, publisher James Franklin, upset about losing his job as printer of the *Boston Gazette* a year earlier, gathered around him a group of brilliant young Boston "wits"

29. *Boston Gazette*, 31 July 1721.

30. See, for example, William Cooper, *A Letter to a Friend in the Country, Attempting a Solution to the Scruples and Objections of a Conscientious or Religious Nature, Commonly Made against the New Way of Receiving the Small-Pox* (Boston: 1721).

who, through their interesting writing, served as a voice for a rising tide of popular discontent with the Puritan theocracy and attracted a large following among subscribers. The Puritan clergymen, however, exercising great political power, joined with government authorities and suppressed the *Courant*.[31]

This account has been popular among works on media history, but the problem with it is that it has no evidence to support it. It rests on historical imagination.[32] The available evidence

---

31. The traditional interpretation is exhibited in such works as Mark Lipper, "Benjamin Franklin's 'Silence Dogood' as an Eighteenth-Century 'Censor Morum,'" in *Colonial Newsletters to Newspapers*, ed. Donovan H. Bond and W. Reynolds McLeod (Morgantown: West Virginia University, 1977), 73–83; James Sappenfield, *A Sweet Instruction: Franklin's Journalism as a Literary Apprenticeship* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1973), who says, for example, that "James Franklin was fighting a little battle in the long struggle for the freedom of the American press. And he was at least dimly conscious that he was striking a blow for intellectual freedom in New England"(30); Carl Van Doren, *Benjamin Franklin* (New York: Viking, 1936), especially his reference to the *Courant's* writers as "wits"(19); Bernard Fäy, *Franklin, The Apostle of Modern Times* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1929); Perry Miller, "Introduction," in *The New-England Courant: A Selection of Certain Issues* . . . (Boston: American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1956), 5–9; John Tebbel, *The Compact History of the American Newspaper* (New York: Hawthorne, 1963), 17–21; Willard Grosvenor Bleyer, "The Beginning of the Franklins' *New-England Courant*," *Journalism Bulletin* 4 (June 1927): 1–5; Arthur Tourtellot, *Benjamin Franklin: The Shaping of Genius: The Boston Years* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1977); John Clyde Oswald, *Printing in the Americas* (New York: Gregg, 1937); and Howard H. Fogel, "Colonial Theocracy and a Secular Press," *Journalism Quarterly* 37 (Autumn, 1960): 525–32, who, relying almost entirely on secondary sources, claimed that James Franklin played a central role in the effort of the colonial press to win its "freedom from ecclesiastical control."

32. Even the starting point of media historians, that a Puritan "theocracy" existed in Massachusetts, is erroneous. The term "theocracy" denotes a situation in which religion controls a state. In Massachusetts, on the contrary, most governors, who were appointed by the the British crown, were Anglicans and therefore in opposition to the Puritan leaders. An exception was Samuel Shute, governor from 1716 to 1723, the period during which the inoculation controversy occurred. But even he was only nominally Congregationalist. Boston in the early 1700s was a diverse society in which the Puritan clergy exercised the influence they did, not because of a theocracy but primarily because they were the most respected group. The social historian Darrett Rutman writes that "The political activity in and among the towns suggests that the people of Massachusetts Bay . . . were not acting within the concept of authority and cohesive, ordered society which . . . historians have . . . pronounced to be characteristic of Puritanism and Puritan New England. . . . Nor was authority a pervasive thing, obliging the individual through family, church, and state to sublimate his personal aspirations to the interests of the community as a whole. . . . The people of Massachusetts . . . were coming to view the elements of authority as being divided rather than united. In particular, they viewed the church and state as distinct entities with well-defined . . . areas of operation." Rutman, "Mirror of Puritan Authority," 160–61. Furthermore, in the inoculation controversy, the opponents of inoculation were identified with the faction that controlled Boston's selectmanship and the Massachusetts House of Representatives. See Dennis Don Melchert, "Experimenting on the Neighbors: Inoculation of Smallpox in Boston in the Context of Eighteenth-Century Medicine" (Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 1973). Thus, pro-inoculation, the

indicates that the history of the *Courant* is virtually opposite to the historians' account.

If the *Courant* were not founded by James Franklin to liberate Boston society from religion, how then was it founded and why? All available evidence on the first question points to a group of affluent Anglicans, all members of Checkley's High-Church party in King's Chapel.[33] It seems most likely that Checkley originated the idea of starting the *Courant* and approached Douglass about it. After they had laid the plans, they then arranged with Franklin for its printing and probably recruited their fellow High Churchmen into the enterprise.[34] Their motive appears to have been to have a vehicle that could attack the Puritan leadership on the issue of inoculation, which could be addressed in both religious and medical terms, and thereby promote Anglicanism. Unfortunately, no one who was involved in the founding of the paper left a record of the affair.[35] Several bodies of material, however, all composed after the *Courant* began publication, offer some clues.

In his autobiography, Benjamin Franklin, who was serving as a printing apprentice to his older brother James, recalled that "my brother had, in 1720 or 1721, begun to print a newspaper. It was the second that appeared in America, and was called the New England Courant. The only one before it was the Boston News-Letter. I remember his being dissuaded by some of his friends from the undertaking, as not likely to succeed, one newspaper being, in their judgment, enough for America."[36] Making allowance for Benjamin's faulty memory of events that had occurred some sixty years before he wrote his autobiography, he stated accurately that James was the printer of the *Courant*—a fact that can be verified from other sources—and that friends cautioned him against the undertaking.[37] Unless one

---

leadership of which consisted of the Puritan clergy, was an attack on the establishment; and the *Courant*'s anti-inoculation stand aligned the paper with the government.

33. The fullest research into who founded the *Courant* has been done by Carolyn Garrett Cline, "The Hell-Fire Club: A Study of the Men Who Founded the New England Courant and the Inoculation Dispute They Fathered" (Masters thesis, Indiana University, 1976). She concluded that Checkley and Douglass deserve the credit.

34. Judging from printing arrangements for pamphlets and other publications of the time, the arrangement provided either for Checkley to pay Franklin for the printing or for Franklin to print the *Courant* at his own expense and retain whatever income he could derive through copy sales and advertising. Considering that Franklin continued to print the newspaper after Checkley's departure, it appears likely that the second arrangement was the one he and Checkley entered into.

35. John Checkley's memoirs, for example, contain no writings between 21 June 1721 and 2 May 1722. No accounts by William Douglass, James Franklin, or other principals have been found.

36. Benjamin Franklin, *The Autobiography* (New York: Modern Library, 1944), 23.

37. Note Benjamin Franklin's uncertainty about the year in which the newspaper

assumes that the job of printing indicated editorial control over the printed product, there is no reason to assume that James was either the founder or the director of the newspaper. Indeed, the tradition that later developed in both the colonial printing and newspaper businesses was that printers did not produce any writing but simply printed material that other people brought to them. In Boston, for example, both existing newspapers, the *News-Letter* and the *Gazette*, were owned by people other than their printers; and there, as later in other towns throughout the colonies, one of the main sources of printers' income, including James Franklin's, was tracts and pamphlets they produced and, if they were booksellers also, sometimes sold for the authors. The latter was the case with the *Courant*: "Printed and Sold by J. Franklin at his Printing House," read the announcement on the back page.

Additional evidence that James had no interest in the *Courant* other than printing and selling it is provided by the fact that during the week after the first issue, he printed and sold a broadside—*The Little-Compton Scourge: Or, The Anti-Courant*—the sole purpose of which was to attack the *Courant's* chief author.[38] Some historians, assuming that Franklin was the founder of the *Courant*, account for his printing the *Anti-Courant* by assuming that he was a promotional genius who knew that the broadside would stir up more controversy, which would be followed by more sales of the *Courant*.[39] That notion fails to consider that at no other time in Franklin's printing career did he show such business acumen; he was, in fact, the least successful of Boston's printers.[40] It also demonstrates little understanding of colonial printers' approach to job printing, which was to print for any customer and frequently to print arguments of two or more customers on different sides of an issue.[41]

Neither does Benjamin Franklin's statement of the friends' caution prove that James originated the *Courant*. It is more likely, when one considers the other evidence, that the Anglican group (probably represented by Checkley) had approached James about printing a newspaper and that James's friends cautioned him about getting involved in such a controversial affair, one

---

began and his error about the numbers of papers already existing in Boston—two rather than one—and the number previously published in America—four rather than one.

38. *The Little-Compton Scourge: Or, The Anti-Courant* (Boston: 1721). This publication was authored by the Reverend Thomas Walter, nephew of Cotton Mather and former confidant of Checkley.

39. See, for example, Tourtellot, *Benjamin Franklin*, 254.

40. Bartholomew Green and Samuel Kneeland handled about 75 percent of the town's printing trade, and Thomas Fleet, who in 1721 was just building his business, soon became much more prosperous than Franklin. For figures on the printing volume, see Cline, "The Hell-Fire Club," 78.

41. Benjamin Franklin provided the most famous statement of that principle in his essay "An Apology for Printers," *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 10 June 1731.

that could make him unpopular and that held little financial promise.[42]

A second piece of hard evidence about the founders' purpose for starting the *Courant* is the content of the first issue. The lead article on page one of the two pages was an essay John Checkley wrote introducing himself as the "Author" of the paper and lampooning the Puritan clergy and their inoculation advocacy. He also identified himself directly with the publication.[43] The remainder of the front page was filled with an essay by Douglass arguing against inoculation, which included personal attacks on Boylston and the clergy, "Six Gentlemen of Piety and Learning, profoundly ignorant of the Matter."[44] The focus on anti-inoculation was made clear in the 21 August issue, in which Checkley wrote that the "chief design of the *New England Courant* is to oppose the doubtful and dangerous practice of inoculating the small pox."

The third piece of direct evidence is who opponents believed was running the *Courant* and what their motive was. In his essay, Checkley identified himself by his age, and in a town the size of Boston it was not difficult for the leading citizens to find out the name of the essayist. It was clear that the operators were a High-Church party, composed mainly of physicians but led by Checkley; and the Puritan clergy believed the Anglicans' purpose was to undermine the clergy's support among the populace. The *Courant*, wrote Mather Byles, a grandson of Increase Mather, was "written on purpose to destroy the Religion of the Country."[45] The underlying implication of the *Courant*'s content was that the Puritan clergy could not be trusted; the underlying aim was to erode its public support, creating a void that the Anglican church could fill. That a High-Church party existed in King's Chapel was attested to by the assistant rector and by Douglass.[46]

---

42. It is also possible that some of his friends may have been concerned about the *Courant*'s authors attacking the friends' own ministers. That is not unlikely, since most of James's family members were devout Puritans.

43. He wrote, "This Paper will be published once a Fortnight, and . . . I [will write in a dull style]."

44. *New England Courant*, 7 August 1721. The authorship of articles in the first forty-three issues of the *Courant* is indicated in Benjamin Franklin's marked files.

45. *Boston Gazette*, 8 January 1722.

46. The Reverend Henry Harris referred to it as "the Jacobite party" that wished to control King's Chapel. The members, he wrote sarcastically, "met at a tavern, and . . . might, for aught I know, proceed from their being intoxicated with the fumes of tobacco and wine." Harris to Bishop Gibson, 22 June 1724, in Foote, *Annals of King's Chapel*, 1:290–91. "The high church party . . . John Checkley's party," Douglass later wrote, "being but a few though very noisy," attempted to run church affairs "by a superiority of mob." Douglass to Cadwallader Colden, 13 February 1728 and 18 March 1728, in *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, 4th ser., 2:179, 182. Both of these statements were made after Checkley's contentiousness caused a rift among the King's Chapel group. In 1721 he, Douglass, and Harris were on amicable terms, even though the

Similarly, Cotton Mather identified opposition to inoculation with "a Jacobite, or High-flying party."[47] Two weeks following the appearance of the *Courant*, a letter published in the *News-Letter* and signed by "Your Friends and Well Wishers to Our Country and all Good Men" first characterized the *Courant* as "Notorious, Scandalous, full freighted with Nonsense, Unmannerliness, Railery, Prophaneness, Immorality, Arrogancy, Calumnies, Lyes, Contradictions and what not, all tending to Quarrels and Divisions" and then lamented that "what likewise troubles us is, That it goes Currant among the People, that the Practitioners of Physick in Boston, who exert themselves in discovering the Evil of Inoculation and its Tendencies (several of whom we know to be Gentlemen by Birth, Learning, Education, Probity and good Manners that abhors any ill Action) are said, esteem'd and reputed to be the Authors of that Flagicious and wicked paper."[48]

An even more direct reference to who was operating the *Courant* came in the *Little-Compton Scourge*. The author, who had come to know Checkley well through their former acquaintance, referred to him as "the miserable and dull *Couranto*." Referring to the legend in the *Courant*'s nameplate ("Homo non-unius Negotii: Or, Jack of all Trades"), the *Scourge*'s author addressed Checkley as "Jack" and as "Homo unius Negotii," thus indicating that he identified the *Courant* as Checkley's publication.

The clearest evidence of the *Courant*'s ties to Anglicanism came, however, from the individuals who produced its content. All articles in the first four issues were written by five people, four of whom were members of the High-Church party in King's Chapel and the other the church's assistant rector. Along with Checkley and Douglass, the group consisted of the physicians John Gibbins and George Steward and the Reverend Henry Harris. In his writings in the *Courant*, the strident Checkley avoided presenting unpopular Anglican arguments and instead emphasized ridicule of the Puritan leaders, hoping, apparently, to diminish their standing with the public. Abrasive in his style, he upset even the Anglicans when in the third issue of the *Courant* he called the Reverend Thomas Walter, the *Scourge*'s author, an "obscene and fuddling Merry-Andrew" and accused him of drunkenness and debauchery.[49] The rector of King's Chapel, perhaps with the support of the church's other members who produced the *Courant*, directed Checkley to desist from

---

relationship between Checkley and Harris at that time was beginning to show a strain.

47. Mather to Dr. James Jurin, 21 May 1723, in *Selected Letters of Cotton Mather*, 361.

48. *Boston News-Letter*, 21 August 1721.

49. *New England Courant*, 21 August 1721.

such writings.[50] Thereafter, he dropped his association with the paper.[51]

Checkley's main partner in the *Courant* venture, Douglass, although a member of the High-Church group, was not as zealous in his advocacy of Anglicanism as was Checkley. He appears to have been drawn into the operation mainly because of his personal animosity toward Cotton Mather and Boylston over the inoculation issue. He and Checkley later became antagonists themselves over the internal affairs of King's Chapel. Although his earlier essay in the *Boston News-Letter* used religious grounds against the practice of inoculation, his articles in the *Courant* dealt in medical and legal objections and in ridicule and attacks on proponents.[52] By early 1722, after the success of inoculation had been demonstrated by contrasting mortality figures of inoculees and other residents, Douglass was slowly coming around to accepting the procedure, although he wrote that "For my own Part, till after a few Years, I shall pass no positive Judgment of this bold Practice."[53] He harbored a dislike for both Boylston and Mather for the remainder of his life and demeaned their efforts even after inoculation had become a

50. *New England Courant*, 27 November 1721.

51. Checkley's Puritan opponents, however, continued to believe for some time that he directed the *Courant*, as shown by a letter Mather Byles published in the 8 January 1722 issue of the *Boston Gazette*. Checkley, although no longer writing for the *Courant*, increased his other activities aimed at promoting the Anglican cause and, as one of his critics declared, "with an uncharitable and bitter Zeal contend[ed] for the Episcopal Pre-eminence." Edward Wigglesworth, *Sober Remarks on a Book late reprinted at Boston, Entitled "A Modest Proof of the Order and Government settled by Christ and his Apostles in the Church"* (Boston: 1724). Almost incessantly contentious, he provoked his opponents inside and outside the Anglican church. The Anglican rector at Marblehead wrote of him in these terms: "Such is the flaming zeal of this Mr. Checkley and the party which abets him, that . . . except [church decisions] agree with their ways of thinking, they put 'em behind 'em and take no notice of them; and . . . we . . . the poor inferior clergy . . . are the Butts of their vehement and ungoverned heart." Rev. David Mossom, 17 December 1724, quoted in Foote, *Annals of King's Chapel* 1:333. Against such criticism, Checkley continually complained about how he was treated. "It is very hard to bear such treatment," he wrote an Anglican official; "but it is much harder to bear, that some of those very Priests whose sacred Orders & Functions I have taken so much Pains to defend . . . against Atheists, Deists & Dissenters, should be willing to give me up to their Fury, and devote me to Ruin." Checkley to the Reverend Dr. Nathaniel Marshall, 19 June 1724, quoted in Slafter, *John Checkley*, 2:165.

52. Douglass wrote anti-inoculation articles in the 7, 14, and 21 August 1721 and four other issues of the *Courant* beginning in January 1722. The other article identified with his name in Benjamin Franklin's files of the first forty-three issues was a personal attack on Philip Musgrave, publisher of the *Boston Gazette*.

53. *New England Courant*, 22 January 1722. The arrogant professionalism that manifested itself during the inoculation controversy plagued him throughout his career. His efforts, for example, to form a stable Boston Medical Society in 1735, one historian writes, were hampered by "intense bickering and one-upmanship." Eric H. Christianson, "Medical Practitioners of Massachusetts, 1630–1800: Patterns of Change and Continuity," in *Medicine in Colonial Massachusetts*, 65.

standard practice. As party bickering intensified among the King's Chapel members, Douglass sided against Checkley. Thus, we find him describing Checkley in 1728 as a "ringleader of the [High-Church] party . . . [whose] character is notorious" and actions "vile." "[B]eing engaged in . . . a party," Douglass concluded, Checkley and his cohorts "are obliged to labor the more to vindicate themselves."[54]

The other main figures in the founding of the *Courant* were two physicians in King's Chapel, George Steward and John Gibbins, both members of the High-Church party and close associates of Checkley.[55] After the inoculation affair, they, unlike Douglass, remained on friendly terms with Checkley.[56] These two wrote all the essays in the first three issues of the *Courant* not authored by Douglass or Checkley. Little is known about Steward's life.[57] He was born in Scotland (date unknown) and had moved to Boston by 1713, having already begun to practice medicine. His educational background is unknown, but it is possible that he had military medical experience. An affluent and leading member of the church, like Checkley he was prominent in the acrimony surrounding its affairs in the 1720s. A member of the small High-Church party, he was one of seven signers of a report complaining about the Reverend Roger Price, the church's rector.[58] When Checkley was charged with libel for publishing another reprint of Leslie's *Short and Easie Method* in 1724, Steward helped him post his £100 bond. Intensely interested in Anglican efforts, he later became treasurer of the Episcopal Charitable Society.

Steward's first contribution to the *Courant* appeared in the second issue. It and an essay by Douglass filled the entire front page. Although using strong language, his work dealt less in personal attack than that of the other *Courant* writers. His first article criticized inoculation on the grounds that reports from

---

54. Douglass to Cadwallader Colden, 18 March 1728, *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, 4th ser., 2:182.

55. Rev. Thomas Harward to Bishop of London, 19 July 1731, in Foote, *Annals of King's Chapel*, 1:414.

56. Along with essays, the *Courant* ran a number of brief accounts of news. Who obtained them is not known, but it may be that Franklin had the task.

57. The following biographical details are gathered from Edward J. Forster, *From the Professional and Industrial History of Suffolk Co.* (Boston: Boston History Co., 1894), 279; King's Chapel records of various dates in Foote, *Annals of King's Chapel*, 1:211, 231, 586, 603, 606; and John Checkley, 1 June 1724, quoted in Slafter, *John Checkley* 2:158.

58. Records of King's Chapel indicate that Steward had contributed funds for the maintenance of the church's new organ in 1713 and for the enlargement of the church building in 1715. He was a pew holder in the church, a member of the church's vestry from 1721 (after the Checkley party captured control of the church) to 1741, and one of two wardens from 1732 to 1734. King's Chapel records, in Foote, *Annals of King's Chapel*, 1:434–35. The group opposed to the Reverend Price claimed that he neglected to do his duty of visiting the sick, including those who had contracted smallpox in an epidemic of 1729.

Turkey indicated unfavorable reactions to the procedure.[59] As the controversy later cooled, he published a long article, occupying all of the first page and part of the second, objecting to inoculation on the grounds that, while it might benefit some people, some also died from it. While most of the article was taken up with medical arguments, Steward accused Boylston of inoculating in a way that resulted in the inoculees' spreading the disease to other people and charged him and the Puritan clergy of violating the Sixth Commandment against murder.[60]

Unlike Steward's writing, that of John Gibbins did not mention inoculation but dealt instead solely in personal attacks.[61] Born in 1687, the son of a military officer, he had the distinction of being the most frequently fined member of his Harvard class, mainly because of his propensity for breaking window glass. He served as a physician's apprentice during the Port Royal military campaign against the French. After receiving his masters degree in 1709 he entered the apothecary business in Boston and grew prosperous from dispensing medical concoctions and from his work as a "phisitian." As a member of King's Chapel, he contributed substantial funds for maintenance campaigns and more money than any other individual toward construction of its second building. In 1720 he put up a £50 bond for Checkley in a criminal case and subsequently was elected to the church's vestry when the Checkley party gained control of church affairs. He served in that position until 1761. He also served as warden from 1725 to 1726, as secretary of the church's annual meeting in 1728, and as a member of the committee that headed the efforts to construct a second Episcopal church in Boston, Christ Church, and was one of the contractors for land on which to build a third, Trinity Church. Although baptized in the liberal Brattle Street Church, he was a convert to Anglicanism and, like so many converts tended to do, became one of its notable and ardent advocates. *Sibley's Harvard Graduates* records of him: "Like most converts he showed an eagerness to attack his old associates, an eagerness which calmer heads among the Anglicans deplored as harmful to their cause, and he associated with men who with some reason were accused of carrying their religion to the point of disloyalty to King George."[62] He remained a firm supporter of Checkley's High-Church efforts, and by 1722 he was deeply

59. *New England Courant*, 14 August 1721. The paradox of Steward using Turkish evidence in support of his argument while Douglass criticized Mather for using it apparently escaped notice.

60. *New England Courant*, 11 December 1721.

61. The following biographical details on Gibbins are constructed from "John Gibbins," in *Sibley's Harvard Graduates*, ed. Clifford Shipton (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1937), 315–17; Slafter, *John Checkley*, 2:38–39; and King's Chapel records found in Foote, *Annals of King's Chapel*, 1:265, 315–17, 334, 357–59, 603, 606.

62. *Sibley's Harvard Graduates*, 316. These men were the Non-jurors, supporters of James II of Scotland's claim to the British throne.

involved in the battle with the Reverend Henry Harris, assistant rector, over internal church affairs.[63]

Gibbins's major article in the *Courant* was an attack in the third issue on Thomas Walter, also the target of Checkley's assault. Gibbins repeated a rumor that Walter drank excessively, although he claimed in different parts of his essay that the drink was rum, wine, cider, and dram.[64] His attack bore all the marks of someone who simply wanted to attack the ministers of his former faith and had no goal of helping advance any useful discussion.

Following Gibbins's and Checkley's two-pronged attack on Walter, uneasiness about the *Courant*'s direction intensified. The pastors of King's Chapel were disturbed. Checkley, they thought, had gone overboard; and they "reprove[d]" Franklin for printing the essays.[65] The outcome was that Checkley dropped his association with the *Courant*, refusing even to subscribe to it.[66]

In order to continue publishing the newspaper, King's Chapel's assistant rector, the Reverend Harris, took over writing duties for the issue of 28 August. More moderate than the High Churchmen, he showed more civility than Checkley. Still, his essay, which filled most of the non-news space in the paper, argued that it was a religious duty and a requirement of the Sixth Commandment that inoculators avoid spreading smallpox deliberately.[67] The other non-news item was an anti-inoculation rhyme of twenty-eight lines and of unknown authorship.[68]

Parishioners had received Harris, a native of England, in early 1708 with optimism about the graciousness they expected he would bring to their troubled church. His tenure, however, was to be marked by contention both inside and outside the church. In 1712 he helped initiate a bitter dispute when he printed a preface to a tract in which he claimed that the Church of England was the legally established church and in which he referred to Increase Mather as forgetful because of his old age, vulgar, unable to "distinguish betwixt Truth and Falsehood," and intent on "harden[ing] People in their Hatred and Animosities . . . against the best Protestant Church in the World." He closed the preface with the declaration that it was "the Duty of the People of New-England . . . to forsake their Errors, and return to their Obedience to Our Spiritual Governours, whose Lawful Author-

---

63. John Gibbins et. al. to Timothy Cutler(rector), 2 October 1722, in Foote, *Annals of King's Chapel*, 1:316–17.
64. *New England Courant*, 21 August 1721.
65. James Franklin, recounting the episode, in *New England Courant*, 27 November 1721.
66. *New England Courant*, 15 January 1722.
67. *New England Courant*, 28 August 1721.
68. In his marked files of the *Courant*, Benjamin Franklin originally had indicated that the composition was by his brother, James, but he then marked through the name.

ity they have so long rejected and disowned."[69] Increase Mather responded with a tract; and Harris's attack was, according to Cotton Mather, "almost universally decried." Harris was, Mather wrote, "under some Attrition for his unhappiness . . . in writing his *Preface*."[70]

Following the rebukes, Harris began to develop a more cordial relationship with the dissenting clergy, eventually leading him into a feud with Checkley. A glimmer of the acrimony appeared as early as 1719, when Checkley reprinted Leslie's *Short and Easie Method*. Harris did not sympathize with the extreme views of the High-Church party that Leslie's tract exemplified, and Checkley accused him of "rather seeming to join with the Dissenters than the Church."[71] By 1722 the dispute had grown so bitter that it was irresolvable.[72] The conciliatory attitude Harris had adopted toward Puritanism was evidenced by a long piece he wrote for the 8 October 1722 issue of the *Courant*, in which he called for acceptance of one another by Puritans and Anglicans. "The Church of England is doubtless a true and excellent Church," he wrote, "but (tho' I am of that Communion) I dare not say, as some do, that it is *The true Church*, exclusive of all others . . . for Christ's Church is not limited to any Sect or party whatsoever." His sentiment was a far cry from that of the founders of the *Courant*. When he died in 1729, the vestry of King's Chapel voted "that no money should be paid out of the church stock towards defraying the charge" of his burial.[73]

After the *Courant*'s fourth issue, the newspaper passed out of the hands of its original operators. Without Checkley's leadership, Steward and Gibbins apparently had no burning desire to continue with the paper. Douglass was more interested in his medical practice than in producing a newspaper each week; and the Reverend Harris's Anglican passion was not hot enough to induce him to continue the project. Steward, Douglass, and Harris would write other articles, but no longer were they involved in operating the paper. With the fifth issue, that duty seems to have passed into the hands of James Franklin, and the responsibility for providing the content was taken up by a "Mr. Gardner." The *Courant* of 4 September carried this notice of the change: "Several Gentlemen in Town believing that this Paper (by what was inserted in No. 3) was published with a Design to

69. Henry Harris, preface to *A Discourse concerning* The Inventions of Men *in the Worship of* GOD (Boston: 7 November 1712).
70. Mather to Wait Winthrop, 19 November 1712, *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, 4th ser., 8:414.
71. Checkley to Rev. Mr. Black, minister of King's Chapel in Westminster, 27 December 1727, in Slafter, *John Checkley*, 2:187.
72. The High-Church party successfully opposed Harris's attempts to be appointed rector of King's Chapel.
73. Quoted in George Francis Marlowe, *Churches of Old New England: Their Architecture and Their Architects, Their Pastors and Their People* (New York: Macmillan, 1947), 26.

bring the Persons of the Clergy in Contempt, the Publisher thinks himself oblig'd to give Notice, that he has chang'd his Author."

Despite the change in management, the *Courant*'s content did not change significantly. Although claiming to be neutral on inoculation and "promis[ing] that nothing for the future shall be inserted, anyways reflecting on the Clergy . . . and nothing but what is innocently Diverting," the newspaper still opposed inoculation, fought Puritanism, attacked opponents with ridicule, used theological grounds as a basis for much of the attack, and attempted satire.[74] The opposition clergy continued to believe that the *Courant*'s "main intention . . . [was] to Vilify and abuse the best Men we have, and especially the principal Ministers of Religion in the Country."[75] Cotton Mather claimed the purpose was to "lessen and blacken the Ministers of the Town, and render their Ministry ineffectual."[76]

Members of King's Chapel continued to have a dominant hand in its writing. All but three of the paper's contributors can be identified as Anglicans. The key figures became Franklin, the paper's printer, who authored fourteen articles in the first forty-three issues, and the unidentified "Mr. Gardner," who appears to have taken on Checkley's former role of chief writer, authoring about half of the articles.[77] Of the ten writers who, along with

74. *New England Courant*, 4 September 1721.

75. *Boston Gazette*, 15 January 1722. The author probably was Mather Byles, nephew of Cotton Mather.

76. 9 December 1721, *Diary of Cotton Mather*, 2:663. Of all the approximately fifty items related to inoculation that the *Courant* published by the end of 1721, only one, a report from London, was slightly favorable toward the practice. Typical of the religious ridicule was James Franklin's "Essay against Hypocrites" in the issue of 14 January 1723. The only notable change in the *Courant*'s content after the fourth issue was more occasional publication of essays on public and private manners. A favorite topic was relationships between spouses. The *Courant* also published a considerable number of attacks on Philip Musgrave, who in 1720 had taken the printing contract for the *Boston Gazette* from James Franklin and given it to Samuel Kneeland.

77. He most often has been identified as "Nathaniel Gardner," although that identification has not been convincingly established. For the fullest investigations of who he was, see Harold Lester Dean, "The 'New-England Courant,' 1721–1726; A Chapter in the History of American Culture" (Ph.D. diss., Brown University, 1943); and Joseph Fireoved, "Nathaniel Gardner and the *New-England Courant*," *Early American Literature* 20 (Winter, 1985–86): 214–35. Gardner was, apparently, only a minor figure in Boston. City government records show that he held the following appointed positions: "hogreeve" (1717); "assessor" (1718); "tithingman" (1723 and 1726); "scavenger" (1725–27 and periodically until his death in 1762); and "informer about deer" (periodically until his death). Robert Francis Seybolt, *The Town Officials of Colonial Boston, 1634–1775* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1939). Since a number of individuals held each of these positions every year, Gardner's appointment indicates no particular prominence. Tourtellot, who examined Gardner's *Courant* writing in search of identification, concluded his study with no suggestion of the writer's full name. Tourtellot, *Benjamin Franklin*, 304. Who "Mr. Gardner" was not only is unanswered, but may be unanswerable. In "Franklin and the Autobiography," *Eighteenth-Century Studies: A Journal of Literature and the Arts* 1 (December 1967):

the original High-Church group, contributed to the paper between the fourth and forty-third issues, six can be identified as members of King's Chapel, one can be identified as an Anglican and therefore a probable member of King's Chapel, one ("Mr. Gardner") cannot be identified, and one writer perhaps was not an Anglican, although he was a friend of the Reverend Harris. The other writer was sixteen-year-old Benjamin Franklin, whose first "Silence Dogood" essay was printed in the issue of 2 April 1722. Since he was an apprentice in James's shop, religious motives may have been irrelevant to his desire to write for the *Courant*. Eliminating his articles and those by Gardner, who may or may not have been Anglican, one can calculate that about nine-tenths of the remainder were written by identifiable members of King's Chapel. Along with Gardner and James and Benjamin Franklin, the writers were Matthew Adams, whose first article, a poem, concluded that the smallpox epidemic was God's punishment on Boston for its crimes; Thomas Fleet, the printer for King's Chapel and for a number of Checkley's pamphlets; Thomas Lane; John Williams, the proprietor of a "tobacco-cellar," whose most notable writing during the inoculation controversy was published in two pamphlets that opposed the practice (one claiming it was a "Delusion of the Devil") and were highly critical of Cotton Mather; John Eyre, a convert from his parents' Old South Church, who became a leading Anglican layman in New England; John Valentine; and Christopher Taylor. All but Taylor were King's Chapel members; Taylor's church membership is unknown, but one of the tenants in his rental property was the Reverend Harris.[78]

193, J. A. Leo Lemay appears to base his opinion that it was Nathaniel Gardner on the spelling of the last name, when in fact the variations "Gardner," "Gardiner," and "Gardener" were used interchangeably among Boston families. Because of the assumption that "Mr. Gardner" was a man several years older than Benjamin Franklin, some historians apparently had in mind a Nathaniel Gardner who was born in 1681. He apparently died at an early age, however, for his parents, John and Susanna, had another son born in 1692 and named that son "Nathaniel." *A Report of the Record Commissioners Containing Boston Births, Baptisms, Marriages, and Deaths, 1630–1699*. (Boston: Rockwell and Churchill, 1883). The latter would have been twenty-nine years old in 1721, which probably would not have led Benjamin Franklin to refer to him as "Mr." when he did not use that form of address for the other *Courant* writers. Since, with a minor exception, the other *Courant* writers were Anglicans, it seems reasonable to guess that "Mr. Gardner" also was a member of King's Chapel, perhaps John Gardiner, Esq., or the Reverend James Gardiner, both of whom may have had the educational background to compose written material for the *Courant* and who died in 1738 and 1739, respectively, suggesting that in 1721 they may have been old enough to inspire Benjamin Franklin to call them "Mr."

78. *An Answer to a Late Pamphlet* . . . (Boston: 1722). Biographical details are gained from the following sources: *Sibley's Harvard Graduates*; Tourtellot, *Benjamin Franklin*; Foote, *Annals of King's Chapel*; Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism in North America*,; Slafter, *John Checkley*; *Dictionary of American Biography*; *American Biography*; *Dictionary of American Authors*; *American Authors*; *National Cyclopedia of American Biography*; *American Authors and Books*; and *Cyclopedia of American Literature*.

That the *Courant* should continue a strong Anglican tenor under Franklin is not surprising. James Franklin is one of the most misunderstood figures in media history. His contemporaries left only sketchy details about him, leaving historians to create a character almost entirely from their imagination. Their creation embodies all the features desired in a hero: a young rebel, an underdog fighting against powerful hypocrites, a rationalist who appealed to the intellect rather than narrow religious faith, a liberator of the mind. The problem with this creation is that it has no basis in historical fact. He possessed virtually none of the features the historians have imagined—from Franklin's deism, to the reasons he supposedly began the *Courant*, to his intellectual genius, to his ability to attract a group of brilliant minds as writers, to his opposition to religion and advocacy of freedom of the press.

The James Franklin of historians never existed. Many of the historical assumptions are refuted by familiar details. Because he gained his printing knowledge through an apprenticeship and was not well educated, it is unlikely that he could have been the nucleus for a group of men of better education, higher social standing, and aggressive ambition as Checkley, Douglass, Harris, Steward, and Gibbins were. Furthermore, he was young (twenty-five years old in 1721) and struggling in his printing business. His younger brother, Benjamin—admittedly biased because of the treatment he received as James's apprentice—described him as demeaning, envious, passionate, and hot-headed.[79] While his writing in the *Courant* was sometimes passable in style and substance, it was not scintillating, and it was prone to be petty and capricious, often revealing him sulking over criticism he received after having first attacked his critic. The clearest personality that emerges is that of an immature, rash young man unable to handle the criticism and pressure that his own actions provoked.

The historians' legend of Franklin rests primarily on two features: his opposition to religion and his contributions as one of the first major American figures in advancing freedom of the press. C. Edward Wilson's study of the inoculation controversy has convincingly disposed of the latter misconception. On the former, the record reveals that not only was Franklin not irreligious, but that he was a devout Christian and was, furthermore, a member of Boston's King's Chapel of the Church of England.

James, like his brother Benjamin later, was baptized at birth at the Old South Church in Boston, but whether he ever adopted the Puritan faith of his father as a child or teenager is unknown. Neither is it known when he accepted Christianity as his personal faith, but we have his own testimony that as an adult he was a professing Christian. When challenged for the *Courant*'s

79. Franklin, *Autobiography*, 24–25.

attacks on the Puritan clergy, he responded that he was confident of his own salvation. "I expect and Hope to appear before God," he declared, "with safety in the Righteousness of Christ."[80] Those are not the words of a deist or atheist, but of an individual who accepts the most fundamental belief of Christianity.

We also know from his own writing that he was a church member. In responding to a charge that he used the *Courant* to "Banter and Abuse the Ministers of God," he asserted that "*My own pastors* are as faithful to their Flock as [Cotton Mather] can be to his" (italics added), clearly indicating that he held church membership.[81]

His church, however, was not the Old South of his father or Cotton Mather's North Church.[82] He apparently converted to Anglicanism while still in his teens on a trip to visit his father's hometown of Ecton in England and to London to learn printing as an apprentice. Such a change was not unusual for colonials who visited England. Away from the support of fellow Puritan believers and surrounded by a culture pervaded with Anglican influence, a number succumbed to the doctrine that salvation was possible only through the ordained episcopate. The conditions were such that even several noted Puritan clergy converted. Some, like Checkley, upon returning to America, became prominent in Anglican affairs and even took up the ministry of their new church. That Franklin similarly had converted—or, at the latest, within a year following his return to Boston in 1717—is attested to by the following King's Chapel record of funds donated for improvements: "A List of the Well disposed Gentlemen and other Persons that Contributed their assistance for the Building a Gallery, a New Pulpit, and adorning the Kings Chappel in Boston, and the Paving before it in the Year 1718." There, in the list of contributing parishioners, was the name of "J: Franklyn," who donated £10.[83]

James Franklin's membership in King's Chapel completed the *Courant*'s ties to that church, which thus had among its parishioners the newspaper's two founders, eleven or more of its fourteen writers, and, finally, its printer also. Viewed in light of this Anglicanism, the *Courant* looks less like a secular critic of stuffy Puritanism and more like a theological antagonist of a competing faith.

The *Courant*'s targets responded in several ways. Friends of the Puritan clergymen and Boylston defended them, and sometimes the targets defended themselves through pseudonomous

---

80. *New England Courant*, 29 January 1722.
81. *New England Courant*, 27 November 1721.
82. *New England Courant*, 27 November 1721. Franklin wrote that Mather "has no Business to curse anybody out[side] of his own Congregation."
83. King's Chapel records, reprinted in Foote, *Annals of King's Chapel*, 1:265. Benjamin Franklin, although not a Christian, also joined the Anglican church and sent his wife, children, and servants to it.

letters to the *News-Letter* and the *Gazette*. It was not unusual for the responses to include retaliatory attacks of their own. The most devastating charge was that the *Courant*'s writers were the equivalent of the sacriligious and infamous Hell-Fire Club of England, and a charge that the *Courant*'s writers went to great lengths to refute.[84]

In general, however, the pro-inoculators were more restrained than the *Courant*'s writers. Although the main target of the town's anger and the *Courant*'s sarcasm, Cotton Mather was cautious about using intemperate language. By December 1721 he believed James Franklin deserved most of the blame for the *Courant*'s offenses, and he referred to him in a diary entry as "the wicked printer."[85] When, however, he succumbed to the human desire to retort publicly, he usually chided himself. "I do not always preserve that Meekness of Wisdome which would adorn the Doctrine of GOD my SAVIOR," he wrote in his diary on 29 October 1721. "I use too bitter Terms. I will ask Wisdome of GOD for the Cure of this Distemper."[86] Within a week, he recorded again: "This abominable Town, treats me in a most malicious, and murderous Manner, for my doing as CHRIST woud have me to do, in saving the Lives of the People from an horrible Death; but I will go on, in the Imitation of my admirable SAVIOR, and overcome Evil with Good."[87] A few days later, he wrote, "I am awakened unto exceeding Watchfulness, *that none of my Temptations may discourage and enfeeble my usefulness.*"[88]

Since the key public issue in the controversy was inoculation, the pro-inoculators on the whole based their arguments on medical knowledge and facts. They believed that truth about the value of inoculation eventually would win the day. "The Opposition to it, has been carried on," Mather wrote in his diary in November, "with senseless Ignorance and raging Wickedness," but he already was growing confident in "the growing Triumphs of Truth over [the opposition]."[89] When a few days later he was planning publication of a discussion of inoculation, he expressed confidence that an "Abundance of Lives may be saved by our Testimony. Truth also will be rescued and maintained."[90] The inoculators produced a number of pamphlets and newspaper

84. For the accusations, see *Boston News-Letter*, 21 August 1721. For examples of the defense, see *New England Courant*, 28 August 1721 and 15 January 1722. There is no evidence to suggest, as some historians have stated, that the *Courant* writers accepted the name as a badge of pride. To the contrary, the *Courant*'s response indicates that the charge was unsettling to them.
85. 9 December 1721, *Diary of Cotton Mather*, 2:663.
86. *Diary of Cotton Mather*, 2:655.
87. 3 November 1721, *Diary of Cotton Mather*, 2:655.
88. 12 November 1721, *Diary of Cotton Mather*, 2:657. Similar statements may be found in Mather's diary entries of 3, 17, and 24 December 1721, and 14 and 17 January 1722, *Diary of Cotton Mather*, 2:662–72.
89. 19 November 1721, *Diary of Cotton Mather*, 2:659.
90. 23 November 1721, *Diary of Cotton Mather*, 2:660.

articles attempting to show the evidence in support of inoculation. In the long run, their argument worked because of the demonstrated success of the practice.

Another ingredient in the pro-inoculators' ultimate victory was their demonstrated concern for those who had contracted smallpox.[91] At the height of the epidemic, when scores were dying weekly and the *Courant* was running satire on women's fashions, the clergy were visiting the sick, providing the poor with firewood for the winter, trying their best to comfort them and their families, and in their visits facing the possibility of contracting a disease themselves.[92] In October 1721, when 411 residents died, the *Courant* was publishing satiric verse on romance, while Mather recorded in his diary:

> The afflicted still multiply upon me. The contagious distemper, seems now at the Heighth in my Neighborhood. The Number of the Sick that had Prayers asked for them in the Bills at the Old North Church, on the last Lord's Day, was, two hundred and two. On the Monday, the Number of my Prayers with the Sick, added unto those of my domestic Sacrifices, were one and thirty. . . .
>
> That Account given of my SAVIOR, *He pleased not Himself*, I find my Soul penetrate more into the Meaning of it; and grow more deeply affected with it. I will study, that in my Devotions towards GOD, and in my Benignities towards Men I may grow more conform'd unto the glorious Character. 322 in the Notes for the Sick of the small-pox prayed for.[93]

The mortality of the smallpox epidemic was greatest that October. The first death had occurred in May, followed by 8 deaths in June, 11 in July, 26 in August, and 101 in September. After October, which saw 411 deaths, the number fell to 249 in November and to 31 in December. The first two months of 1722 had a total of only 6 deaths, and the selectmen declared the epidemic over at the end of February. During the ten months since the first appearance of smallpox, 5,889 people contracted the disease; of those, 844 died.[94]

The proponents of inoculation used those figures to buttress their case. Boylston reported that he had inoculated 242 patients,

---

91. Cotton Mather's diary entry for 26 September 1721 revealed some of the anguish the clergy faced in their daily work with the sick: "To strengthen a dear Child in the Agonies of Death, is a sad Work, which I am again call'd unto. Between ten and eleven in the Evening the dear Child expired. A long and a hard Death was the Thing appointed for her." *Diary of Cotton Mather*, 2:649.

92. Cotton Mather recorded in his diary for 29 September 1721: "That I may be supported and preserved in my daily Visits to the sick Chambers, that are so lothsome, and full of Malignity." *Diary of Cotton Mather*, 2:650.

93. 7 and 15 October 1721, *Diary of Cotton Mather*, 2:652–53.

94. Figures are taken from the *Boston News-Letter*, 22 January, 26 February, and 12 March 1722.

of whom 6 died.[95] The fatality rate was 2.5 percent. Among people who contracted the disease naturally, the rate was 14.8 percent. By November 1721 Cotton Mather had full confidence in inoculation, recording in his diary his intent to provide an explanation of the procedure "and communicate Copies of it, that so Physicians about the Countrey may know how to manage it."[96]

While the evidence was persuasive, there remained considerable resistance to inoculation. Douglass admitted in January that smallpox gained through inoculation might be milder than when contracted naturally, but he declared that it must be administered by "abler hands, than *Greek old Women, Madmen and Fools*."[97] When, in May 1722, Boylston resumed the practice, there was a considerable outcry and the selectmen ordered him to desist.[98] Douglass used the occasion for another attack on Boylston and Mather in the *Courant*, but in England physicians, using documenation provided by Boylston and Mather, renewed experimentation with the practice and came to accept it.[99] Even Douglass eventually acknowledged its effectiveness and urged its use when another epidemic threatened Boston in 1730. At that time, he published two pamphlets providing the medical evidence in support of inoculation—but in none of his work did he ever credit either Boylston or Mather for developing the procedure.[100]

With the end of the smallpox epidemic of 1721, the *New England Courant* lost the public issue that had provided the immediate cause for its founding. Thereafter, it resorted to personal attacks—which most generously can be called petty—on Cotton Mather and other Puritan clergy. Its original High-Church group no longer wrote for the paper, but theological differences with Puritanism continued to provide material for its new contributors. Although promising readers to be bright and entertaining, it continued to publish for only four years after the smallpox epidemic ended, outlived by both the *Boston Gazette* and *News-Letter*.

James Franklin left no written record specifying why the paper folded, but a number of factors seem to have been important. Most immediate was the end of the epidemic. Although the public did not immediately change its views on inoculation, Mather and Boylston soon were to be widely recognized for their achievements, the first in preventive medicine in the English-

95. Zabdiel Boylston, *Historical Account*, 50, quoted in Blake, "The Inoculation Controversy," 496–97.
96. 24 November 1721, *Diary of Cotton Mather*, 2:660.
97. William Douglass, *Inoculation as Practiced in Boston* (Boston: 1722).
98. *New England Courant*, 14 May 1722.
99. *New England Courant*, 21 May 1722.
100. William Douglass, *Dr. Douglass's Practical Essay Concerning the Small Pox* (Boston: 1730) and *A Dissertation Concerning Inoculation of the Smallpox* (London: 1730).

speaking world. By contrast, the *Courant*'s opposition to the practice made its writers look credulous and reactionary.

More important in the long run, however, was the unpopularity of Anglicanism in Boston. Even though the inoculation hysteria for a time had led to outrage against the Puritan clergy, Puritanism remained the faith of most Bostonians. Antiministerial sentiment was present, but after the inoculation controversy it seemed confined to small groups such as those who wrote for the *Courant*. The number of Anglican church members gradually increased, but that was due to an increase in the size of Boston's population rather than to converts from Puritanism. Anglican membership remained disproportionately small. Of the eleven Boston churches in 1721, seven were Congregational and one was Anglican. The other three were Anabaptist, Quaker, and Huguenot. The continuing arguments of its most belligerant advocates, such as Checkley, that no other church had any validity annoyed rather than persuaded. That narrow view, combined with the Anglican church's ties to the British monarchy, made Anglicanism repugnant to most Massachusetts inhabitants.[101] Although the *Courant* avoided arguing the unpopular dogma of Anglican preeminence, it did take positions that Anglican authorities held. In late 1722, for example, it devoted a large amount of space to the defection to Anglicanism of the Congregational administrators of Yale College. In a town as overwhelmingly Puritan as Boston, the *Courant*'s position was far from popular.

The *Courant* also suffered when its immoderate methods were contrasted with those of its opponents. With an avowed purpose of "expos[ing] the Vices and Follies" of people with whom it disagreed, the paper was unlikely to set an example of propriety. The public opposition to Cotton Mather's role in the inoculation controversy reached its most violent when, in November 1721, an unknown Bostonian threw a grenade into his home. The *Courant* cannot be accused of direct responsibility, but it did its part in whipping up public frenzy against Mather.

The *Courant*'s targets, on the other hand, while sometimes responding acrimoniously showed a concern about not indulging in meanness or pettiness. Cotton Mather, as the most obvious example of their temperate approach, left in his diary frequent reminders to himself to "Exercise . . . a forgiving Spirit." Even as the *Courant*'s contumely was most vicious at the height of the smallpox epidemic, he wrote, "I must beware, that I don't harbour or admitt, any Tendency towards the least Wish of Evil,

101. Material relating to the comparative popularity of Anglicanism and Puritanism can be found in William Wilson Manross, *History of the American Episcopal Church* (New York: Morehouse Gorham, 1950) and in several works cited in n. 3, including Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism*, Cross, *Anglican Episcopate*; Tiffany, *History of the Protestant Episcopal Church*; Hodges, "Episcopalians"; and Platner, "Congregationalists."

unto such as may have displeased me. . . . I must beware, that upon the Provocations . . . my Speeches be not intemperate and unadvised, or any Ebullitions of Impatience; and Trespasses upon the Rules of Meekness and Wisdome. I must beware, that I don't spread any false Reports."[102] In the passion of the smallpox epidemic, some newspaper readers may have welcomed the *Courant*'s language, but in calmer times they recognized the superior value of the opponents' moderation.

Likewise, the genuine concern that Mather and other pro-inoculators showed for those suffering with smallpox spotlighted the Couranteers' egocentered and querulous nature. While the *Courant* published lampoons, the clergy were working with the sick and the poor. Writing of Boylston almost three years after the epidemic, Mather observed that

> when the rest of our doctors . . . with horrid insinuations infuriated the world against him, this worthy man had the courage and conscience to enter upon the practise [of inoculation]; and . . . he alone, with the blessing of Heaven, saved the lives of I think several hundreds. . . . With an admirable patience he slighted the allatrations of a self-destroying people, and the satisfaction of having done good unto mankind made him a noble compensation for all the trouble he met withal.[103]

In a similar tone, he wrote the same correspondent:

> [W]e that cry with a loud voice to them, *Do yourselves no harm*, and show them how to keep themselves from the paths of the destroyer, are conscious of nothing but of a pity for mankind under the rebukes of God . . . a desire to have our neighbors *do well*, and a solicitude for a better state of the world. And all the obloquies and outrages we suffer for our charity, we shall entertain as persecutions for a good cause, which will not want its recompenses.[104]

The due regard Bostonians had for Mather's benevolence was attested to best, in terms of the *Courant*, when Benjamin Franklin near the end of his life told Mather's son, "I have always set a greater value on the character of a *doer of good*, than on any other kind of reputation; and if I have been, as you seem to think, a useful citizen, the public owes the advantage of it to that book [Mather's *Bonifacius*]."[105]

Furthermore, the *Courant*'s aspersions, made during the in-

---

102. 3 December 1721, *Diary of Cotton Mather*, 2:662. For similar statements during the same period, see entries of 17 and 24 December 1721.
103. Mather to Dr. James Jurin, 15 December 1724, *Selected Letters of Cotton Mather*, 2:402.
104. Mather to Jurin, 21 May 1723, *Selected Letters of Cotton Mather*, 2:367.
105. Quoted in Ronald W. Clark, *Benjamin Franklin: A Biography* (New York: Random House, 1983), 19.

oculation controversy, that Mather was naive and ill-informed did not hold up in calmer times. His was the first colonial work to gain wide recognition in Europe. Upon his death in 1728, he was eulogized as the most learned mind and the most prolific writer the colonies had produced.[106]

In the end, a large share of the blame for the death of the *Courant* can be placed directly on the paper's operators. Checkley and his High-Church group had begun the paper with a plan to cloak their theological motives in the inoculation controversy. After James Franklin assumed authority for the content, he did little to elevate it. The paper continued to deal in personal abuse and heavy-handed satire, and Franklin's constant complaints about being criticized by those people whom the *Courant* first attacked leave him looking like a petty sniveller. Many of the *Courant*'s essays attacking opponents, especially the Puritan clergy, were simply crude attempts at ridicule. Rather than being bright and entertaining, most of the essays come across as sarcastic, gratuitously insulting, unsophisticated in style, dull, and devoid of wit.[107] In addressing issues, they tended to ignore facts and concentrate on minor points that opponents raised. Some historians, because they dislike Cotton Mather, have called the *Courant* sprightly, but there is no reason to assume that Bostonians in the 1720s liked scurrility or awkward style any more than readers do today. The entire tenor of the *Courant* was too off-key for it to be a popular or respected newspaper.[108]

The characteristic that finally doomed the *Courant* perhaps was its own pretentiousness and hypocrisy, the exact features it condemned in the Puritan clergy. It opposed inoculation because the clergy favored it. Rather than consider the arguments for and against the practice out of a concern for saving lives from smallpox, it was more eager to attack. While hundreds of Boston residents were dying, it went on with its satire, its abusiveness,

---

106. Silverman, *Life and Times of Cotton Mather*, 422–27, includes a number of eulogies.

107. John Eyre's essay from the *Courant*, 23 October 1721, criticizing Cotton Mather for dealing with medical matters, provides an example: "Doubtless, a Clergyman . . . when he shall degenerate from his own Calling, and fall into the Intriegues of State and Time-Serving, he becomes a Devil; and from a Star in the Firma-Ment of Heaven, he becomes a sooty Coal in the blackest Hell, and receiveth the greatest damnation."

108. In his autobiography, Benjamin Franklin recalled that the High-Church group of writers for the *Courant* said their compositions were received with "approbation."(23) Several considerations related to their reports make it virtually impossible to verify or refute their accuracy. It may be that during the inoculation controversy a considerable number of members of the public agreed with the *Courant*'s approach, or that the Couranteers repeated comments from selected readers. It also is even possible that Cotton Mather's later comment was true, that anti-inoculators were of such disreputable character that some people came to support inoculation because "they were ashamed of their [anti-inoculaton] company." Mather to Dr. James Jurin, 21 May 1723, *Selected Letters of Cotton Mather*, 362.

and its self-centeredness. Then, as the final paradox, it decried the clergy's sanctimony in berating other people's sins.

Benjamin Franklin provided evidence that the general public was getting annoyed with the *Courant* when it was less than a year and a half old. After the government ordered James not to continue to print the newspaper because of his criticism of the government's slowness in pursuing pirates, he substituted Benjamin's name as printer beginning in the issue of 4 February 1723. Benjamin's salutary address began: "Long has the press groaned in bringing forth an hateful brood of pamphlets, malicious scribbles and billingsgate-ribaldry." He described the new operator as having morals that were "clearly Christian" and as a "man of good temper, courteous Deportment, sound judgment, a mortal Hater of Nonsense, Foppery, Formality, and Endless Ceremony."[109]

Benjamin Franklin remained with the *Courant* only until he seized the opportunity to escape his apprenticeship and fled Boston. The *Courant* from then on went downhill. No records exist of its circulation figures, but its advertising diminished. During the inoculation controversy, from August 1721 through May 1722, it averaged 7.9 column inches of advertising per issue, or about 30 percent of the advertising published in Boston's three newspapers.[110] After the May 1722 issue, however, its advertising shrank to an average of 3.8 inches per issue (21 percent of the total). While all three newspapers published ads for pamphlets and other items they printed and sold, such house-ads accounted for a larger amount of space in the *Courant* than in either the *Gazette* or the *News-Letter*. No financial records of the *Courant* are available, but it does not appear from these figures that James Franklin was doing well. He published the *Courant*'s final issue on 25 June 1726 and moved to Rhode Island.

A number of reassessments of the *New England Courant* can be drawn from this study. Most fundamentally, the *Courant* was founded not as a liberator from religion, as media historians generally have assumed, but as an advocate of it—not to free people from formal religion but to establish the Church of England. The *Courant*'s main figures, including James Franklin, were not skeptics in religion but devout believers. From these observations it can be suggested that the goal of the colonial press was not, as some media historians have assumed, to oppose religion but to promote Christianity or particular denominations. The *Courant* episode provides no evidence of what some historians have claimed was a growing, secularized anti-ministerial sentiment among the general populace. Since these historians, such as Perry Miller, have relied on the *Courant* as a

---

109 *New England Courant*, 4 February 1723.

110. The *Gazette* averaged 10.4 column inches for 40 percent of the total, and the *News-Letter* 7.8 inches for 30 percent.

major part of the substantiation for their argument, the foundation for their entire argument begins to crumble with the fact that the *Courant* was not anti-religion but pro-Anglican. Finally, the *Courant*, as the historian Edward Wilson previously has shown, did not provide a landmark in the history of freedom of the press; it simply continued a practice of outspoken opinion already begun by Boston's other newspapers and pamphlet writers. Although the purpose of this study was not to examine the concept of freedom of the press, the evidence suggests that the real promoters of free expression may have been the dissident Protestants with their broad view of religious authority residing with individual believers. In the case of the inoculation controversy, it seems to have been the Puritan clergy, with their emphasis on reasoned argument, who did the most for press freedom. The *Courant*, by relying on abusiveness, actually may have retarded press freedom by making the public suspect about freedom leading to licentiousness.[111] That possibility would seem to offer an intriguing topic for additional investigation.

●

111. The *Courant* was not lauded by contemporaries as an instance of press freedom or suppression, with one exception. The *American Mercury* in Philadelphia, which was operated by the Anglican Andrew Bradford, carried a sympathetic account of James Franklin's troubles with the Massachusetts government in 1723. *American Mercury*, 26 February 1723. It apparently was contributed by a *Courant* writer. At best, contemporaries seem to have quickly forgotten Franklin after his short *Courant* career. His reputation with historians generally remained unfavorable until the twentieth century, when the interpretation finally took on the laudatory qualities that have since become familiar.

H. W. MASSINGHAM, RADICAL JOURNALISM, AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN RACIAL IMPERATIVE, 1906–1910

On the Origins of Apartheid

James D. Startt

BLACK AFRICANS AND other non-European people paid a high price for British magnanimity and realism in the political reconstruction of South Africa following the Anglo-Boer War of 1899–1902.[1] With the defeat of the two former Boer republics, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, there was reason to hope for an extension of the native franchise. That hope, however, fell victim to a compromise contained in the franchise provisions of the Act of Union, the constitution of the new unified South African state, passed by the British Parliament in 1909 and placed in operation the following year. In its time the act was considered a great national and imperial achievement. Britain's Liberal government had managed to reconcile the two European communities in South Africa, and although that seems of secondary importance today, the British then perceived it as the paramount aim of their South African policy. This was the "racial issue" of the reconstruction years, and circumstances made it one of commanding importance to resolve. Yet in retrospect, it appears that this was a crucial juncture in racial relations between European and non-European people in South Africa, one at which it was imperative for the imperial statesmen to have found some way to guarantee the future extension of the native franchise. In their failure to do so lies one of the roots of South Africa's later apartheid policy.

Imperial statesmen considered relations between Europeans and native Africans, then usually termed the "Native Question," a matter of grave significance. How could it be otherwise? Already in 1853 they had made their decision regarding how

James Startt is professor of history at Valparaiso University. He is the author of *Journalism's Unofficial Ambassador: A Biography of Edward Price Bell, 1860–1943* (1979) and *Journalists for Empire: The Imperial Debate in the Edwardian Stately Press, 1903–1913* (1991).

1. Since the term *native* was commonly used at this time in reference to various black African people (sometimes also including the Cape Coloured), I have used it or *native African* in this essay where context suggests doing so rather than *African* or *black African*, the preferred designations today. Elsewhere I used the term *African*.

native South Africans should be treated in politics. The Cape franchise act of that year extended a property-based franchise to all people, European and non-European, in Cape Colony. In ensuing years, the principle of a limited franchise without a color bar continued to be a part of British liberal humanitarian ideas about South Africa. Both Cecil Rhodes and Alfred Milner, the two dominant leaders of the British cause in South Africa, made the idea of this type of limited franchise for Africans part of the imperial philosophy they championed. Indeed, their attachment to that idea deeply disturbed the Boers, who, with all the fervor and narrowness of their severe Calvinist faith, considered it anathema. Anglo-Boer disagreement on this issue was one of the reasons for the war between them that opened in 1899. On the other hand, native Africans were encouraged by British liberal ideas about the franchise and racial relations in general, however imperfect that may have been. Those ideas raised their hope of having the opportunity to achieve greater equality in the future. They sympathized with the British during the war and anticipated an extension of their political rights in the political settlement that followed. The Act of Union, however, was a great blow to their hopes for a more integrationist future.

To this day many people believe that the British statesmen could have done more for native interests in South Africa at this time than they did. Is this a defensible contention? Any answer to that question must consider how H. W. Massingham, the leading Radical journalist in Britain, dealt with the issue, for, of all people, the British Radicals, who were known for their moral and courageous politics, could be expected to champion native interests. Massingham was an unrelenting Radical whose passionate attacks could irritate Liberals in his own party, who felt they were undeserved, as well as members of the Conservative party, who grew accustomed to enduring his barbs. He was also an extraordinary journalist. By the time of his death in 1924, he enjoyed a reputation spanning the Atlantic as the editor who had made the *Nation* (London) one of the major journals of opinion of this century.[2] "A first rate editor," George Bernard Shaw once wrote, "is a very rare bird indeed: two or three to a generation . . . is

2. See, for example, his obituary in the American liberal journals: "A Noble Editor," *Nation*, 10 September 1924, 252, and "H. W. Massingham," *New Republic*, 10 September 1924, 32–33. Considering the significant status he held for so long in the British press, it is surprising that the published record of his life is not fuller than it is. The author consulted Massingham's private papers at the Norfolk Record Office in Norwich, England, but found them of limited use in the present inquiry. Massingham kept no diary and retained little of his personal correspondence. Fortunately, the corpus of his work does remain, and it provides an excellent primary record of his thought and works for this study. His signed articles were especially useful as were his columns in British journals: "Pictures in Parliament," in the *Daily News*, 1901–1906; "Persons and Politics," in the *Speaker*, 1903–1906; and "Diary of the Week," in the *Nation*, 1907–1910.

as much as we get; and Massingham was in the first of that very select flight."[3]

Massingham's Radical credentials were impeccable, and his knowledge of South African affairs was considerable. Throughout the years following 1906, when the political reconstruction of South Africa became a major issue in the stormy political debates at Westminster, he fought for the extension of the native franchise. Yet in the end, he begrudgingly accepted the Act of Union with its disappointing native franchise provisions, recognizing no other possible course of action. Though largely overlooked by historians, his position on this issue clearly indicates that even the leading Radical editor of his day, and one of the sharpest critics in British journalism history, saw no alternative to accepting the native franchise provisions of the new constitution.[4] Thus the idea that there existed better alternatives for the British to pursue on this question may have been an illusion of contemporary and later opinion about it, one that resided beyond the pale of imperial realities. The significance of Massingham's views on this issue and his journalistic involvement in it can only be appreciated by understanding the Radical cause and his commitment to it, and the place he held among Radical publicists of the era.

Massingham molded his career in the tradition of the British Radicals whose cause was a catalyst to the public debate in Edwardian Britain. These Radicals were not "radicals" in the generic sense. They upheld the left-wing reforming tradition in the Liberal party and considered themselves the inheritors of the nineteenth-century political idealism personified by Richard Cobden and William E. Gladstone. Their ranks included figures as different as the stately John Morley, and the impetuous Welshman, David Lloyd George, the "people's David." Yet

3. George Bernard Shaw, "Dramatic Criticism," in *H. W. M.: A Selection from the Writings of H. W. Massingham*, ed. H. J. Massingham (London: Jonathan Cape, 1925), 216.

4. Massingham's own biographer makes only cursory mention of this topic. See, Alfred F. Havighurst, *Radical Journalist: H. W. Massingham (1860–1924)* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 136–37. Benjamin Sacks has inquired into British press opinion on the subject, but he fails to provide a systematic treatment of it, and he virtually overlooks Massingham's work. See his *South Africa, an Imperial Dilemma: Non-Europeans and the British Nation, 1902–1914* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1967). Historians of British Radicalism have been more attracted to other aspects of imperial and colonial policy in the post-Boer War years such as armaments and the development of tropical colonies than to the reconstruction of South Africa. See, for instance, Bernard Porter, *Critics of Empire: British Radical Attitudes to Colonialism in Africa 1895–1914* (London: Macmillan, 1968); *Radicalism Against War, 1906–1914: The Advocacy of Peace and Retrenchment*, ed. A. J. Anthony Morris (London: Longman, 1972); and *Edwardian Radicalism 1900–1914: Some Aspects of British Radicalism, 1900–1914*, ed. A. J. A. Morris (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974). There is, of course, an extensive literature in imperial history that covers the British and South Africa after 1902, but it contains only incidental reference to journalistic opinion.

despite such diversity, these dissenters from orthodox Liberalism retained a loose group identity.

Several things magnified their place in the public debate. Not the least of these was the fact that they thought of themselves as Radicals or Radical-Liberals. Although they might refer to themselves as Liberals when they wished, they usually drew the distinction between themselves and orthodox or moderate Liberals. Then, too, they all accepted a broad body of principles including faith in the ability and reason of men to produce a better and more socially just future. Emphatic in their belief in freedom, democracy, and social progress, they were people to whom the old Liberal slogan, "peace, retrenchment, and reform," still had most pleasing appeal. They manifested the Nonconformist conscience in politics and held government to moral accountability.[5] While supporting democratic reforms in domestic politics, on foreign policy issues they espoused international conciliation, free trade, the principle of nationality, freedom from oppression, and opposition to balance-of-power policies. Imperial policy also occupied an important place in their political perceptions. They, of course, opposed any hint of the muscular jingoistic imperial spirit that was so associated with the coming and conduct of the Anglo-Boer War and supported a reformist imperial policy. They advocated self-government for the dominions, voluntary cooperation between Britain and the dominions, careful reform in India, and humanitarianism as a force in imperial affairs.[6] Although the Radicals' position on South Africa was more fluid than generally supposed, their general inclination toward imperial policy there is clear. They were against late nineteenth-century forward imperial policies in South Africa, found the cause for war inadequate in 1899, protested the Government's conduct of the war to some significant degree, and denounced the early (1902–1905) reconstruction of South Africa, which the British Unionist party (i. e., the Conservatives) directed.[7]

The reconstruction of South Africa, in fact, took eight years, and it involved three successive British prime ministers—the Unionist, Arthur Balfour, and two Liberals, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman and H. H. Asquith. Aside from repairing physical

5. The Nonconformists or Dissenters in England were those Protestants who did not conform to the practices of the Church of England. Rooted in seventeenth-century Puritanism, the Nonconformists became champions of civil and religious liberty. In the nineteenth century they were associated with the Whig and later the Liberal party. They always retained a strong strain of Puritan moralism.

6. The Radicals were also interested in developing a new standard for imperial conduct in Sub-Saharan Africa. This is the subject of Porter's *Critics of Empire*. Massingham, however, played no apparent role in the Radical groups that addressed the problem.

7. Richard Price, *An Imperial War and the British Working Class: Working-Class Attitudes and Reactions to the Boer War, 1899–1902* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972), 12–29.

and economic damage caused by the war, they had to find some way to reconcile the Boers, who had fought the British so bitterly in the recent conflict. Finally, and this was the great imperial hope for South Africa, they had to find some way to unify the four South African colonies: Cape Colony and Natal, the two British colonies, and the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony, the two former Boer republics, which after the war were administered by imperial authorities as Crown colonies.[8] Failure to achieve union in South Africa comparable to that accomplished in Australia and Canada would be an imperial failure bearing the gravest consequences for Britain's world position. With that prospect in mind, the British signed a generous treaty with the Boers at Vereeniging on 31 May 1902. It promised the Boers representative institutions leading to self-government as soon as conditions permitted. It also stipulated that the question of the native franchise in the former Boer republics would be postponed until after the grant of self-government.

Native Africans expected an extension of their political rights after the Anglo-Boer War. Before that conflict, the British had complained about the Boer governments' denying rights to the Africans in their republics. With the defeat of the Boers, there was hope that limited franchise would be extended to the northern provinces.[9] The peace settlement, however, delayed the possibility of any such extension. Although they expressed some concern about the native franchise provisions in the treaty at the time of its signing, neither British Liberals nor Radicals offered serious resistance to their inclusion in the peace terms.[10] Peace with the Boers was the overriding necessity. The question, therefore, became: What would the fate of the native franchise be in the new constitutions that political reconstruction would produce? On that question rested the hope of Africans for a viable political future, and in resolving it they looked to British Radicals for support. Throughout the reconstruction years the Radicals tried to protect and mobilize British moral conscience in regard to South African and other great national issues. In retrospect, their cause appears to have been waning at this time, but it was then perceived to be undergoing a postwar revival.[11]

8. Since the term *Boer* was commonly used in this era in reference to the large non-British European element in South Africa, I have used it in this essay rather than *Afrikaner*, the preferred term today.

9. There were 20,000 natives and Cape Coloured as compared to 115,460 whites on the voting rolls in Cape Colony where the franchise was based on property, wage, and literacy qualification. In Natal, natives, Cape Coloured, and Indians were also enfranchised, but only to a nominal degree. Sacks, *Imperial Dilemma*, 156–57.

10. H. C. G. Matthew, *The Liberal Imperialists: The Ideas and Politics of a Post-Gladstonian Elite* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), 192; and John Grigg, "Lloyd George and the Boer War," in *Edwardian Radicalism*.

11. There were a number of reasons for the decline of Radicalism. No leader appeared for the cause after the death of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman in 1908; the hope for peace and disarmament dimmed as the nation drifted toward

Massingham was in the journalistic vanguard of the perceived Radical revival. Talent and temperament fitted him for that position. In fact, the roots of his Radical conscience stretched back to his youth, when he acquired his passionate attachment to liberal idealism. Although that idealism was nurtured by religion, it found its source outside the Wesleyan environment of his parents' home. There he encountered, as he recalled late in life, "the unpleasant Jehovah."[12] It was James Spilling, the editor of the Norwich *Eastern Daily Press*, who not only taught the seventeen-year-old Massingham his trade, but also convinced him that the Christian God was a God of love and compassion, not a God of vengeance. Spilling and a small group of Unitarians were able to stimulate and redirect the young man's faith, and they helped to instill in him a life-long spirituality. Later he found an intellectual grounding for his commitment to religious values. In his own words, he discovered "this objective Christianity in Ruskin, in the great Romantics, particularly in Hugo, above all in Tolstoy."[13] Shortly before his death, Massingham wrote that he was "a heathen with religious intervals."[14] Those words, however, describe his journalistic turn of phrase better than his Christian faith. The moral fervor found in his journalism cannot be grasped without first acknowledging the force of his faith. "He never forsook," as his biographer tells us, "the Puritan ethic with its strong call of duty, its sensitivity to conscience, its self-righteousness."[15]

The religious factor in Edwardian political journalism helps to explain the quality of thought found in many of the era's leading editors. It surfaced in the temperament of editors as different as W. T. Stead, John St. Loe Strachey, and J. L. Garvin. In the case of Massingham, his religious grounding became manifested in the way in which he used journalism to apply a strict moral standard to public figures. As St. Loe Strachey said, "he suffered from being thrown by Fate into . . . the world of the nonconformist's conscience."[16] Massingham's colleague for many years, H. W. Nevinson, confirmed Strachey's judgment when he recalled the way that Massingham made the *Nation* "a unique influence for righteousness" in England.[17]

---

war in 1914, and after the war more collectivist ideas grew in appeal on the British Left.

12. H. W. Massingham, "The Religion of a Journalist (part 1)," *Spectator*, 27 September 1927, 414.
13. H. W. Massingham, "The Religion of a Journalist (part 2)," *Spectator*, 4 October 1924, 449.
14. Massingham, "Religion of a Journalist (part 1)," 414.
15. Havighurst, *Radical Journalist*, 13.
16. St. Loe Strachey to Dorothy Massingham, 13 September 1924, John St. Loe Strachey Papers, S/10/6/2, House of Lords Archives, London (hereafter cited as Strachey Papers).
17. Henry Wood Nevinson, "In Memory of H. W. Massingham," *Nation* (New York), 10 September 1924, 330.

The Christian ethic that became so ingrained in Massingham's professional life helps to explain the strong sense of advocacy that characterized his journalism. He became a relentless and outspoken champion of social and political reform. Massingham "announces a message of revolution as if it were a new gospel of love," said George W. Smalley, the foremost American correspondent in London during the early years of Massingham's career.[18] The Radical wing in the Liberal party offered a natural political home for someone of his religious sympathies.

Other forces also guided him to life among the Radicals. His own father had been a prominent Radical in Norwich, as well as a Methodist preacher and founder of the *Norfolk News*. The teachings of the great nineteenth-century practitioners of British Radicalism, of men such as Cobden and John Bright, the young Massingham knew well. Gladstone, however, was his political mentor. Massingham's biographer observes that, like Gladstone, he was "a moralist rather than a politician. Each had a distaste for dogma and Party organization."[19] Like Gladstone, he was for individual freedom, indeed, for all forms of responsible freedom. He supported all causes of liberty, and his contemporaries agreed that his support for those causes was "courageous."[20] Nevinson remembered thinking that while Massingham lived he could always say to himself: "Thank God, there is one man who will fight for the noble and honorable and unpopular cause whatever happens!"[21] Such a man belonged among the Radicals.

Although Massingham converted to the Labour party late in his life (after World War I), it is difficult to imagine him under any Edwardian political banner other than that of the Radicals. Association with the Conservatives was unthinkable for him; the orthodox Liberals were too moderate and compromising; the Socialists, too provincial. The Radicals, on the other hand, with their at times abrasive determination to reform society, within and beyond England, suited him. They were dissenters of the tradition personified by Cobden, Bright, Gladstone, Charles James Fox, and William Cobbett. As A. J. P. Taylor claims, they were frequently contemptuous of those in authority.[22] Massingham validated that claim. He was a spoiler in politics—Liberal as well as Conservative. In the words of his contemporary, G. K. Chesterton, he assumed the right "week after week, to damn and blast the Liberal Party to infinity."[23] He was not even above accusing J. A. Spender, the prestigious editor of the orthodox

18. Quoted in "A Noble Editor," 252.
19. Havighurst, *Radical Journalist*, 100.
20. Sir Oswald Mosley to A. F. Havighurst, 14 November 1968, H. W. Massingham Papers, Norfolk Record Office, Norwich (hereafter cited as Massingham Papers).
21. Nevinson, "In Memory of H. W. Massingham," 330.
22. A. J. P. Taylor, *The Trouble Makers: Dissent Over Foreign Policy, 1792–1939* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1956), 97–99.
23. Havighurst, *Radical Journalist*, 176.

Liberal *Westminster Gazette*, of the sin of "ministerialism."[24] When on one occasion Strachey attempted to console Spender after such an attack, the *Gazette*'s editor responded by saying, "Massingham is a very good fellow but he has [an] idea that everyone who does not use violent language is a coward."[25]

Other Liberals shared that opinion. Indeed, during the terrific political controversies of 1909 and 1910, when party loyalty meant so much, Winston Churchill, then a young Liberal with many Radical sympathies, admitted in private that Massingham had "fallen foul of almost every member of the Government [H. H. Asquith's Liberal government]."[26] His criticism, however, had the saving grace of being honest. It was that fact that led the *New Republic* to conclude that "it would be the testimony of anyone who read his work as it appeared day by day or week by week that his was a pen completely uncontrolled by any influence save his own passion for justice and truth. A vigorous crusader with a fine and biting scorn for those whom he regarded as enemies of the common good, he never struck a blow nor withheld one at the dictate of anyone other than himself."[27]

His journalism, of course, involved more than relentless criticism. It had depth and range and was principled. It was also well crafted. Strachey said Massingham wrote with "extraordinary verve and glow of interest."[28] Others as well found reason to extol the appeal of his writing, and fellow journalists often commented on the charm of his purely literary efforts.[29] His political writing could be eloquent or simply vivid, but it was always trenchant and never without life, perception, and direction. In the daily press, it embraced many of the lively and democratic features of the New Journalism at its best.[30] It was bright, engagingly displayed, and underscored the personal element in politics. Massingham's prose, while serious, was descriptive and could be colorful. He wanted to be read—and not only by a political elite. Yet he had no wish to be popular for the sake of popularity, or to build circulation for the sake of advertisements. He opposed the way that Alfred Harmsworth (i. e., Lord Northcliffe) commercialized the New Journalism. That type of journalism, Massingham claimed, was "an anti-social thing" because it exploited and sensationalized many

24. Havighurst, *Radical Journalist*, 175.
25. J. A. Spender to St. Loe Strachey, 8 February 1910, Strachey Papers, 13/13/9.
26. *The Riddell Diaries*, ed. J. M. McEwen (London: Athlone, 1986), 62.
27. "H. W. Massingham," *New Republic*, 10 September 1924, 32.
28. Strachey to Dorothy Massingham, 13 September 1924, Massingham Papers.
29. See, for example, essays by J. L. Hammond and H. N. Brailsford in H. J. Massingham's, *H. W. M.*, 19, 93.
30. The "New Journalism" refers to the democratic and stylistic innovations that appeared in the London press in the 1880s. It was championed at first by W. T. Stead and T. P. O'Connor and later by Alfred Harmsworth, who sensationalized it and gave it mass appeal.

things harmful to the public good and because it was too satisfied with the capitalist-industrial society of which it was a part.[31] Massingham's journalism was about other things, about cause and persuasion. A stern ethical quality permeated his commentary on public issues. "The aim of Liberalism," he contended, "is to advance the finer realizations of social and political life for the whole people. Its journalism is the critic and appraiser of these efforts."[32]

It was the combination of passion and talent that made him the leading Radical publicist of Edwardian England. There were, of course, other highly regarded journalists among the Radicals, including figures such as H. N. Brailsford, A. J. Gardiner, John Hobson, and C. P. Scott. The Radical press could boast of two influential weeklies, the *Economist* and the *Speaker* (later the *Nation*), and a group of important dailies: the *Daily News*, the *Manchester Guardian*, and the *Morning Leader*. Massingham, however, held a particular position among the Radical journalists, one that combined experience, variety, substance, and remarkable productivity.

At the start of the Edwardian era, he had a career of a quarter of a century behind him, both in provincial and national journalism. His most important previous positions were as editor of two Radical London dailies: of the *Star* from 1890 to 1891, and the *Daily Chronicle* from 1895 to 1899. In the context of Edwardian journalism, he served with distinction as the parliamentary correspondent of the London *Daily News*, whose reports were unsurpassed in descriptive turn of phrase, and wrote three columns, "Pictures in Parliament" for the *Daily News* from 1901 to 1906, "Persons and Politics" for the *Speaker* from 1903 to 1907, and "Diary of the Week" in the *Nation* from 1907 to 1910. Furthermore, the prestige and influence the *Nation* acquired after he became editor was due in significant degree to the leadership he provided.[33] No one writing in the British press in

31. H. J. Massingham, *H. W. M.*, 139. Massingham's criticism of Harmsworth's New Journalism can also be found in a seven-part series, "The Harmsworth Brand," that he published in the *Nation* (London) in July and August 1908.

32. H. W. Massingham, "The Journalists," *Nation*, 3 March 1912, 1048.

33. One of Massingham's journalistic colleagues, H. N. Brailsford, believed it was the "collective conscience" that Massingham forged for the journal that gave it such an "unusual position." See, F. M. Leventhal, *The Last Dissenter: H. N. Brailsford and His World* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985), 94. One of Massingham's innovations as editor, the *Nation*'s Lunches, suggests there may be some truth in that contention. Those lunches, over which he presided, met every week at the National Liberal Club for a discussion of the week's issues. Distinguished guests—political and literary, British and foreign—attended regularly, and conversation there was full of debate and dissension. Another colleague recalled that what he most admired about the editor at those lunches was his skill at holding the others to "the center of the road." Henry W. Nevinson, *More Changes More Chances* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1925), 216. These lunches in a sense reflected the *Nation* itself. Massingham controlled the broad policy of that journal and made a strong personal contribution to it. But within that framework, the writers of the *Nation* often disagreed with one another on particular issues.

those years commanded more attention than he, and since South African reconstruction remained a foremost political issue in Britain for nearly a decade, his views on the subject carry an obvious historical significance.

Massingham's interest in South African reconstruction was quite natural. In 1899, rather than support the war, he had resigned as editor of the *Daily Chronicle*. After the war, the informed public clearly understood that the outcome of reconstruction would affect all the people of South Africa far into the future. Massingham's views about reconstruction circulated widely. He denounced the Unionist economic reforms in South Africa, especially the party's policy of using Chinese labor in the Transvaal to resolve the labor shortage there. In that policy, he detected the same capitalist influence that, he contended, had led to war in the first place. His preference was simple: grant self-government to the former Boer states at the earliest possible moment and trust the Boers to resolve their own economic and political problems. By this means the Boers would be reconciled, the way for unification of the four colonies opened, and the recent war would be shown to have been a costly but needless conflict.

Between the end of the war and the beginning of his editorship of the *Nation*, he was scornful of the Unionist policy in South Africa. It outraged him and offended his moral sensitivities. Week after week he attacked it as the "very worst" of all bad policies that confounded Balfour's "hapless Government" in its "daily spectacle of Ministerial ineptness and maladroitness."[34] He charged that "on the hideous ruin of the war, has come Chinese labour and the other appanages of pure capitalist tyranny, until the Transvaal stands to-day a foul plot on a free empire."[35] The Balfour government, Massingham announced, was stumbling to defeat guided by its own opportunistic, plutocratic, and uninspiring ways. His persistent criticism, conveyed through his parliamentary reports and columns, helped to force the resignation of that government in 1905 and its subsequent defeat a month later in the general election of 1906.[36]

Everyone understood that the Liberals' plans for South Afri-

34. H. W. Massingham, "Persons and Politics," *Speaker*, 27 February 1904, 517.
35. H. W. Massingham, "Persons and Politics," *Speaker*, 16 July 1904, 356.
36. Because of serious divisions in his own party caused by the tariff reform and South African reconstruction issues, Balfour resigned in December 1905 without dissolving Parliament. That forced the Liberals to form a government, which Balfour hoped would have difficulties of its own in facing the long-expected and now pending election. He was wrong. When the election occurred a month later, in January 1906, the Liberals won a sweeping victory. Shortly thereafter in their assessments of the Unionist defeat, both the *Times* and the *National Review*, champions respectively of moderate and extreme conservative persuasions, claimed that the previous Unionist government had allowed itself to be symbolized by rhetoric precisely of the sort that Massingham employed. See A. K. Russell, *Liberal Landslide: The General Election of 1906* (Newton Abbot, Devon: David and Charles, 1973), 199.

can reconstruction would be a matter of great significance in that election. Radicals and Liberals also knew that the Unionist reconstruction of South Africa, particularly regarding the importation of Chinese labor into the Transvaal, was vulnerable. Shortly before the election of 1906, therefore, the *Daily News* sent Massingham to South Africa to gather material for a special series of articles. Called "South Africa To-Day," the series appeared in twelve parts beginning on 13 January, the first day of polling. Aside from its value as Radical publicity aimed to sway voters, the series is important as a guide to Massingham's thinking about South African reconstruction issues. It contained all the major themes that would permeate his writing on the subject for the next three years. Clearly he believed the Boers had good intentions, and he wanted a liberal constitution for the Transvaal as soon as possible.[37] Once the Transvaal received a constitution granting self-government as stipulated by the Treaty of Vereeniging, it was understood that the Orange Free State would soon be given a similar constitution. Then the way would be open for negotiations that could lead to a unification of the four South African colonies. Although the Treaty of Vereeniging postponed consideration of the native franchise in the Transvaal until after the grant of self-government, that matter began to disturb Massingham at this time.

The "South Africa To-Day" series conveyed his growing concern about the native franchise question. He was appalled by the status of the native South Africans, and of Indians too. They did most of the manual work, paid taxes, but, with the only noteworthy exception of Cape Colony, they were excluded from political life. "On the other hand," Massingham observed, "educational and religious influences . . . [were] slowly breaking down barriers between the white man and the picked members of the Bantu race." He believed the question entailed great problems and that it was imperative for South African whites to find "civilized ways" to resolve them.[38]

Nevertheless, when the provisions of the Liberals' Transvaal constitution became known later in the year, hopes for an extended native franchise were dashed. All males, except for the soldiers of the British garrison, who had reached the age of twenty-one and who had resided in the Transvaal for six months were to be given the right to vote. There would be no property qualifications. Even a small property qualification, which at the time could still be considered a liberal qualification, would have favored the British, most of whom lived in towns and could easily meet a reasonable annual value requirement. But it would have excluded many Boers who lived in country districts on the farms of their families. Massingham would have been willing to

37. H. W. Massingham, "The Call for Self Government," *Daily News*, 30 January 1906, 8.
38. H. W. Massingham, "Black and White Men," *Daily News*, 5 January 1906, 12.

have the women enfranchised as well, but he did not push that point in his criticism. Although these liberal provisions allowed for manhood suffrage, they were illiberal in regard to the African people. Manhood suffrage excluded non-Europeans from the voting rolls, for it guaranteed that the Boer insistence on having a color bar would remain in force. Their racial prejudices were against political integration, and any application of the principle of manhood suffrage without a color bar was unthinkable from the Boer perspective—non-Europeans outnumbered Europeans in the Transvaal by a ratio of about three to one.[39] Some type of property qualification for the franchise was the African's only hope, and that the constitution denied them.

Massingham shared the Radical's faith in the curative effect of liberal principles for all political problems. In this case, the cherished principle of self-government would produce positive results all around in the future. So he endorsed the constitution. After all, the Vereeniging treaty specified that the grant of self-government in the Transvaal would precede consideration of the native franchise question there. Regardless, his major statement on the Transvaal constitution indicated he was anxious about the matter of the native franchise.

In that article he spoke of the "reconstructed Boers" whom he felt were now ready for self-government. But the matter could not end there. So he asked: "What of the greatest problem of all? What of the real South Africa—the land of the Black and Brown men? . . . The native is in a majority over the white man of four to one. He is healthy and has ambitions. He runs a newspaper or two." In the Cape these Africans, including the Cape Colored, could vote and even "turn elections." But the "gates of the new Transvaal constitution are . . . absolutely barred to the black man and also to the other colored races." That was not all. "The black man and the brown man," he said, "remain growing faster than their white overlords; . . . [and were] assimilating the outer forms of civilization. And against their progress stands a rock-barrier of the white South African prejudice, against which I fear that the English ideas will battle in vain."[40]

Time would show that Massingham's worries were prophetic, but what could have been done about them at the time? After the British granted self-government to the Boers, attention focused on writing a constitution for a unified South Africa. South Africans drafted that document in 1908 and 1909 and presented it to the British government for approval in the latter year. During those crucial years, the time for the expansion of the native franchise arrived, for British imperial rule in South Africa would end, in any effective sense, with the approval of the Union's constitution.

39. Sacks, *South Africa*, 338.
40. H. W. Massingham, "The South African Constitution," *World's Work* 13 (November 1906): 8300.

If British Radicals had their way, there would be provisions in that document for an enlightened native franchise. They wanted the Cape's open franchise to be extended to the other South African colonies that would become provinces in the new unified dominion. The constitutional deliberations in South Africa frustrated those hopes. Many people there beyond the Cape wished to have the Cape's native franchise "leveled down." A compromise of sorts was reached. The non-European franchise would remain in the Cape and was safeguarded by the constitutional provision that it could be changed only by a two-thirds majority in both houses of the new South African Parliament. But the non-Europeans were eligible only for the Cape Provincial Council. Elsewhere the color bar would prevail in provincial elections and also would be applied to elections for the Union Parliament. The Boers even urged that all of South Africa (including the "native protectorates" of Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and Swaziland) be entrusted to them, but the British refused to relinquish their imperial responsibilities for the protectorates. Having received the editorship of the *Nation* in 1907, Massingham followed these proceedings closely, and placed the weight of that journal in the cause of an expanded native franchise.

There was, of course, much to applaud in the Union's constitution, and the *Nation* endorsed it, as did all the major publishers of the British political press. "The draft constitution . . . is, in the first place, remarkable as a testimony to the healing and reconciling powers of common nationality," and "the political problem of white South Africa has found a definite and very satisfactory solution in the terms of the Act of Union," were typical of its statements of approval.[41] They were well substantiated by accompanying arguments. But a strong ominous note also appeared in all of its articles on the subject.

What would be the fate of the native franchise in and beyond the Cape? Using arguments reminiscent of those Massingham developed in his "South Africa To-Day" series in 1906, the *Nation* offered repeated warnings about what it recognized as an injustice to South Africa's native population. While granting that "genuine self-government must rest with the white peoples of the Colonies," it admitted that "we cannot refrain from expressing a most earnest hope that they will come to recognize that a union . . . in which the vast majority of the population are kept in permanent political servitude on grounds of race or color, can never expect to rank upon a level with genuine self-governing nationalities."[42] With that argument, the *Nation* touched the essential contradiction in imperial Liberalism on this question: Liberals believed in the rule of law and in an enlightened native policy, but they insisted on self-government, even when that

41. *Nation*, 13 February 1909, 737, and 15 May 1909, 236.
42. *Nation*, 17 October 1908, 107.

sacred principle of their imperial faith mitigated against native rights. Nevertheless, Massingham's journal continued reasoning in this vein. "We cannot but consider as a blot upon the democratic character of the Constitution that it expressly precludes the vast majority of British subjects in South Africa from any voice, direct or indirect, in the representative goverment of their country."[43] The attention the *Nation* gave to this line of argument in all of its major articles on the subject plus the fact that Massingham himself followed a similar line in his "Diary of the Week" leaves no reason to doubt the *Nation*'s earnestness about this issue.[44]

Massingham, in fact, made the *Nation* a defender of African political rights to the degree he believed possible. Aside from arguing in favor of a guaranteed native franchise (the "civilized" franchise as it was sometimes called) where it existed and against the establishment of a permanent color bar where it did not exist, the journal also stressed from the first the need for the imperial Government to preserve the African's rights to land in the native protectorates. Beyond that, it performed a significant role in publicizing the representations made in behalf of removing the color bar from the constitution by delegations from South Africa. In the summer of 1909, W. P. Schreiner, a notable Cape politician and recognized champion of native rights, arrived in London with a petition against the inclusion of a color bar in the constitution. Several independent African delegations also appeared there in support of Schreiner. The most important of these were John Tengo Jabavu and Walter Rubusana, who represented the newly formed African Native National Conference. Jabavu, the editor of the first Bantu political newspaper of South Africa, *Native Opinion*, was the acknowledged leader of native sentiment; Walter Rubusana was a native clergyman and politician. Together they represented native press and political leadership. On 14 August, Jabavu issued a lengthy statement protesting the pending disqualification of natives from the Union Parliament and urging the imperial government to remedy this offense by means of amendment.[45] Massingham called it a "powerful plea" and published it in full in the *Nation*.[46] It covered an entire page and a half in that weekly, in which space was a precious commodity.

---

43. *Nation*, 13 February 1909, 738.
44. For the *Nation*'s leading articles on the topic beyond those mentioned above see: 8 February 1908, 663–64; 18 April 1908, 73–74; 15 May 1909, 236–37, and 17 September 1910, 860–61. For Massingham's comment on the issue in his "Diary of the Week" in the *Nation*, are: 5 December 1908, 363; 30 January 1909, 658; 13 February 1909, 734; 10 April 1909, 38; 5 June 1909, 333; 12 June 1909, 371; 10 July 1909, 515; 31 July 1909, 626; 14 August 1909, 698; and 21 August 1909, 733.
45. J. Tengo Jabavu, "The Case of the South African Natives," *Nation*, 14 August 1909, 711–12.
46. H. W. Massingham, "Diary of the Week," *Nation*, 14 August 1909, 698.

Massingham even resorted to direct action in the hope of having the native franchise provisions modified. At one point in the discussion about the draft constitution, upon learning through his sources that the Boers intended to remain unyielding on the native franchise question, he made a direct personal appeal to the British goverment to amend the constitution covering this matter.[47] All efforts failed; Prime Minister Asquith made it clear his Goverment would accept no amendments. When 55 members of Parliament voted for an amendment against the prime minister's advice, it failed as 155 members supported the Government.[48]

Why did Massingham continue to support the Government in this instance when it appeared that his Nonconformist conscience would lead him to oppose the constitution? On some other issues, his criticism of other Liberals was well known. Surrounding circumstances provide the answer. Most Liberals, and most Unionists too, were trapped by the solid achievement embodied in the Act, despite the serious flaw it contained. Could they reject that achievement when there was so little chance of removing the flaw? The promise the constitution held for creating a lasting Anglo-Boer reconciliation after a century of alienation and conflict between the two South African white communities, a reconciliation that the British believed would benefit native South Africans in time, was too great to risk losing at this late point. Liberals of all persuasions, moreover, believed that the Boers would become less intransigent on racial matters with the passing of time.[49] If rejection of the Act of Union was unthinkable, what alternatives were there? Surely it was impossible to consider a reimposition of imperial authority and even amendment seemed out of the question. A body of liberal opinion in South Africa would be needed for acceptance of an amendment on this issue. Outside of the Cape, South African British opinion regarding political rights for natives was far from liberal. In fact, before Schreiner brought his petition to London, he forced a division over it in the Cape Parliament. It failed by a vote of 20-77.[50] Prime Minister Asquith made a direct appeal to South African leaders to abolish the color bar provisions of the

47. H. W. Massingham to Winston Churchill, 16 September 1908, enclosed in Winston Churchill to Earl of Crewe, 21 September 1908, Papers of the Marquess of Crewe, Box c/7, Cambridge University Library (hereafter cited as Crewe Papers).

48. H. W. Massingham, "Diary of the Week," *Nation*, 21 August 1909, 733–34.

49. Churchill, for instance, was explicit about that belief. Within five years, he told Lord Crewe, "two things will happen: the government of United South Africa will take a broader and calmer view of native questions because it will be above local panic. . . . Secondly & this is the real security—the natives are gaining education, civilization & influence so rapidly that they will be far more capable apart from force altogether—of maintaining their rights, & making their own bargin." Churchill to Earl of Crewe, 3 June 1909, Crewe Papers, Box c/7.

Act.[51] White South Africa beyond the Cape remained unmoved. Liberals also believed the question was really one to be resolved in South Africa rather than by the imperial Government in London, else the Liberal principle of self-goverment, which had been extended to all the South African colonies by 1907, would become mere sham.

Finally, there are the political anxieties of the time to consider. They were great enough to force the debate of Act of Union off the news agenda. The public debate in 1909 about imperial matters, to say nothing of the turbulent domestic questions that abounded, bristled with urgent matters that demanded immediate attention: tariff reform, imperial consolidation, Indian reform, and the famous naval crisis (the deadly naval building race with Germany). These questions intensified concern about Britain's position in the volatile European balance of power and in the world. A crisis environment existed, and it appeared the time had come to put to rest the problem of South Africa's political reconstruction on the best available terms. Meanwhile, a revived Unionist party was approaching equal strength with the Liberals. Failure to achieve union in South Africa could cost the Liberals the Government in the coming election, and with that any hope the Radicals had for the social reform of England, which in turn could serve as a model for the dominions, would be lost.

The political circumstances for the Liberals and their Radical brethren were discouraging at best. Electoral defeat seemed possible.[52] It was in this context that the Government made an earnest appeal to the House beseeching "every man . . . to look the facts in the face, and realise that we cannot get our way, that we have no power to get it, and to pass the Bill and trust to the people of South Africa."[53] It was in that context too that Massingham commented as Commons passed the Act of Union: "The House and the majority deeply sympathetic to the policy and the act of union, pronounced an absolutely unanimous disapproval of the color bar, and by the mouth of the Prime Minister made a direct appeal to South African statesmanship to abolish it."[54]

At that time the *Nation* also produced "Lowering the Flag," its concluding article on the subject. "How much more fortunate it would have been," it lamented, "if the white peoples of South Africa had presented to the Imperial Parliament a plan for establishing not only equality among themselves, but equality of

50. Edward Roux, *Time Longer Than Rope: A History of the Black Man's Struggle for Freedom in South Africa* (1948; reprint, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1972), 72.
51. H. W. Massingham, "Diary of the Week," *Nation*, 21 August 1909, 733.
52. George L. Bernstein, *Liberalism and Liberal Politics in Edwardian England* (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1986), 105.
53. Quoted in Bernard Porter, *The Lion's Share: A Short History of British Imperialism 1850–1970* (London: Longman, 1975), 210.
54. H. W. Massingham, "Diary of the Week," *Nation*, 21 August 1909, 733.

opportunity for the native and colored races of the sub-continent!" It was a powerful statement devoted in the main to the point that "White South Africa has thus required us to swallow our principles." All that remained now was the hope that the controversy about the native franchise would be transferred to South Africa, "and that the growth of a strong Liberal movement on the native question will follow the moral pressure of public opinion in the mother country. The Constitution has the great merit of fluidity, and South Africa contains her full quota of enlightened statesmen." The article, which bears the markings of Massingham's style, thus reiterated his confidence in moderate South African leaders. It ended with a declaration of conscience: "We have washed our hands of responsibility for the drawing of the color line in politics; it is for South Africa to shrink back in time from its abhorrent vision of a slave State, sinking, by the evil force of parasitism, into physical dependence on a proscribed and disinherited race."[55] Shortly after that Georgiana Solomon, whose late husband was one South African who believed in Cecil Rhodes's old idea of equal rights for all civilized men south of the Zambesi, addressed the *Nation*'s editor with a long and moving letter that she ended, "Someone has blundered!"[56] That thought would appeal to the thinking of future generations on this juncture in imperial affairs.

In the history of the formation of the Union of South Africa, the decision of the Government at Westminster to allow the color bar to stand in the Transvaal Constitution and especially later in the Act of Union (outside the Cape) has attracted some harsh treatment. Some historians of black South Africa have claimed that the Act of Union was "an act of betrayal by the British Goverment."[57] Most British historians do not go that far, but their comments can also imply disparagement.[58] Nicholas Mansergh, however, provides a more accurate perspective. "It is widely assumed today that there was a practicable and preferable alternative policy open to the British government ensuring a measure of political rights for Africans," he writes. But he adds, "This may be so but it was not apparent to any British statesmen with experience of government at the time."[59] It can be added that neither Unionist nor orthodox Liberal journalists saw any viable alternative at that time.[60]

---

55. "Lowering the Flag," *Nation*, 21 August 1909, 736–37.
56. Georgiana M. Soloman to the editor of the *Nation*, 19 August 1909, published in the *Nation*, 28 August 1909, 781–82.
57. See, for example, Mary Benson, *South Africa: The Struggle for a Birthright*, rev. ed. (New York: Minerva, 1969), 21.
58. See, for example, Alfred F. Havighurst, *Britain in Transition*, 4th ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 83, and Asa Briggs, "The Political Scene," in *Edwardian England 1901–1914*, ed. Simon Nowell-Smith (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), 84.
59. Nicholas Mansergh, *The Commonwealth Experience*, vol. 1, *The Durham Report to the Anglo-Irish Treaty*, 2d ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983), 110.

Massingham's position on the issue is particularly important in this regard. It shows that even a caustic Radical journalist failed to see a workable alternative to accepting the Act of Union. During the years covered in this inquiry, he managed to irritate leaders in both parties by putting into practice his principles regarding how a Liberal political journalist should perform. In this case, he knew the culminating Act of Union involved a compromise that was disagreeable to him, but he recognized the need to make it. The political circumstances in Britain and Europe were too perilous and the alternatives to accepting the Act of Union too unrealistic.

Edwardian Radicals like Massingham were classic dissenters in politics. Of them, A. J. A. Morris writes that their conscience "presents an inherent paradox. It is the product of two opposing forces—emotion and reason. In the inevitable battle between these two, emotion, or call it 'instinct' or 'the still small voice,' is more usually the victor."[61] For good or ill, Massingham placed reason over passion in this instance. The tragic experience of the African people in the new South African state suggests that his reason may have been misplaced. Yet, what were the alternatives? In the end, his position reminds one of the cruel dilemmas that at times force a political decision contrary to conscience.

●

60. See, for example, *Observer*, 10 October 1909, 8; *Spectator*, 15 May 1909, 764; *Times*, 31 May 1910, 11; and *Westminster Gazette*, 31 May 1910, 1.
61. Morris, *Edwardian Radicalism*, 5.

PRESS POLICY OF THE U.S. MILITARY GOVERNMENT IN KOREA

A Case of Failed "Libertarian" Press Theory?

Kyu Ho Youm

KOREA WAS LIBERATED FROM thirty-six years of Japanese colonial rule at the end of World War II. South Korea was temporarily ruled by the U.S. military government, while North Korea was occupied by the Soviet Union.[1] During the three-year rule of the U.S. Army Military Government in Korea (USAMGIK) from 1945 to 1948, Koreans had their first real opportunity to experience freedom of the press in the "libertarian" sense of the phrase.[2] Although in the United States and other Western democracies a free press has long been recognized as "the first right because all the others depend upon it," this had not been the case with Korea until 1945.[3]

Kyu Ho Youm is an associate professor in the Cronkite School of Journalism and Telecommunication at Arizona State University. He has published in a number of academic journals, including *Journalism Quarterly*, *Journalism Monographs*, *Columbia Human Rights Law Review*, and *International and Comparative Law Quarterly*.

1. See generally Hugh Borton, "Korea Under American and Soviet Occupation, 1945–7," in *Survey of International Affairs, 1939–1946: The Far East, 1942–46*, ed. Arnold Toynbee (London: Oxford University Press, 1955), 428–73.

2. Kyu Ho Youm, "Press Law in the Republic of Korea," *New York Law School Journal of International and Comparative Law* 6 (Spring 1986): 669. Under the "libertarian" press theory, the press functions to inform, entertain and sell. Its main purpose, however, is to uncover and present the truth. The press often serves as a Fourth Estate, supplementing the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government. Press freedom in a libertarian society is a right of citizens, not a special privilege to be accorded by the government to a limited segment of society. Anyone who can pay for it may operate a communication medium, and say whatever he likes, except perhaps for personal defamation, obscenity, invasion of privacy, wartime sedition, and the like. For a detailed discussion of the "libertarian" press theory, see Fred S. Siebert, Theodore Peterson, and Wilbur Schramm, *Four Theories of the Press* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1956), 39–71.

3. Henry Steele Commager, *Crusaders for Freedom* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1962), 16. Palko v. Connecticut, 302 U.S. 319, 326–27 (1937), characterizes protection of speech and the press as a "fundamental" liberty in part because "our history, political and legal," recognized "freedom of thought and speech" as "the matrix, the indispensable condition, of nearly every other form of freedom." For a discussion of the Korean press up to 1945, see Chun Chhoe, *A History of the Korean Press* (Seoul: Iljogak, 1960), Chun Chhoe, *A History of Korean Newspapers* (Seoul: Iljogak, 1982), and Bong-gi Kim, *History of Korean Journalism*, 2 vols. (Seoul: Korea Information Service, 1965).

Since the late nineteenth century, the Korean press had been typically "authoritarian."[4] Particularly when ruled by the Japanese colonial government from 1910 to 1945, the Korean press operated at the mercy of foreign rulers.[5] This explains in part why the concept of freedom of the press was too alien for Koreans to accept as their basic right, when it was first extended by the American military government in 1945. As one journalism scholar noted in 1958, press freedom came to Korea before Koreans had gained sufficient experience in democratic self-government and other freedoms.[6]

There is no denying, however, that the USAMGIK did help Koreans become aware of what freedom of the press means as a day-to-day right of citizens in a democracy. Indeed, the unprecedented exposure of Koreans to the Western concept of a free press during the era of the American military rule contributed enormously to the future sociopolitical development of South Korea. One Korean political scientist observed that "the greatest legacy that South Koreans received from the American Military Government was the spirit of freedom."[7] In a similar vein, another Korean journalism historian has said that the press policy of the USAMGIK became "a critical factor in drawing a paradigm about the development of the Korean press."[8]

On the other hand, the American military government's efforts to introduce the American concept of press freedom into South Korea was a trial-and-error process, illustrating the clash

---

4. Under the "authoritarian" theory of press freedom, the press is to support and advance the policies of the government in the main capacity of a governmental propaganda agency. The authoritarian press system, adopted by many a "strong-man" government, is based upon the proposition that freedom of the press is a special privilege to be granted by the State, not one of the basic political and civil liberties of individuals. The authoritarian press, although functioning as private enterprise within the individual country, owes its existence to the State. Thus, the press has as much freedom as the government allows it to have. For a detailed discussion of the authoritarian theory of the press, see generally Siebert et al., *Four Theories*, 9–37.

5. For a discussion of the Korean press under Japanese rule, see Jin-seok Chung, *A History of the Struggling Korean Press under the Japanese Rule* (Seoul: Jungeumsa, 1982), and Seong-hi Yim, "Constitution Guarantees Freedom of Press in ROK [Republic of Korea]: Its Thorny Past and Bright Future," *Korean Report* 3 (September 1963): 21.

6. D. Wayne Rowland, "The Press in the Korean Republic: Its Status and Problems," *Journalism Quarterly* 35 (Winter 1958): 454.

7. Hakjoon Kim, "The American Military Government in South Korea, 1945–1948: Its Formation, Policies, and Legacies," *Asian Perspective* 12 (Spring-Summer 1988): 80. Han Mu Kang, "The United States Military Government in Korea, 1945–1948: An Analysis and Evaluation of its Policy" (Ph.D. diss., University of Cincinnati, 1970), 254–55, argues that "[USAMGIK] . . . helped to establish important elements of democratic thought and procedure theretofore unknown in Korea."

8. Dae-Churl Chung, "The Press Policy of the American Military Government and the Press Reality," in *Modern Society and Freedom of the Press*, ed. Committee on Publication of Collection of Research Papers in Commemoration of Dr. Won-Soon Paeng's 61st Birthday (Seoul: Nanam, 1989), 508–9.

between a foreign-dominated government with a liberal political ideology and a society with no sociocultural or political experience with a free press. One Korean-born American journalism scholar, for example, has noted that "the transitional era of Korea [1945-48] gives testimony to the problems arising from the introduction of a free press to a people not yet fully prepared to accept such freedom with responsibility."[9] Given that the primary mission of the USAMGIK was to equip the Korean people with "a democratic, representative machinery of government," its overall approach to press freedom was closely related to its various reforms to "democratize" Korean society.[10]

This study examines how the U.S. military government dealt with press freedom issues in South Korea in its policy attempts to establish a democratic infrastructure for Koreans.[11] In particular, this study asks three questions. First, what was the theoretical underpinning for the USAMGIK's press policy in South Korea? Second, by what institutional mechanisms did the USAMGIK implement its press policy? And finally, how did its press policy affect the development of the Korean press?

The history of the Korean press before the USAMGIK was brief. Although a few "semi-newspapers" already existed in the so-called "Hermit Kingdom" of Korea before it was finally opened to Western countries in the nineteenth century, the history of the Korean press in the Western sense may be said to begin with *Hansung Sunbo*.[12] The paper, which was published every ten days starting on 1 October 1883 (by the lunar calendar), focused primarily on the dissemination of government information, though it carried both domestic and overseas news.[13] In

9. Kyu Ho Youm, "Press Freedom in South Korea: A Process of Ebb and Flow" (Paper presented at the Third World Studies Conference at Omaha, Nebraska, on 20–22 October 1988), 18.

10. E. Grant Meade, *American Military Government in Korea* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1951), 74. On attempts to democratize Korea, see Meade, 7, and George M. McCune and Arthur L. Grey, *Korea Today* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950), 72.

11. For a thoughtful discussion of the American military government in South Korea, see Hakjoon Kim, "American Military Government," 51–83, which analyzes the establishment of the USAMGIK and its policies toward the eventual establishment of South Korea.

12. For example, *Chobo*, published during the sixteenth century, was a sort of government bulletin "to communicate to the people government information such as court announcements, appointments, transfers and dismissals of government officials." Sang-chul Lee, *A History of Communications Development* (Seoul: Iljisa, 1982), 140. On the early Korean press, see Chhoe, *Korean Press*, 1–4, and *Facts About Korea*, 17th rev. ed. (Seoul: Korean Overseas Information Service, 1983), 140. On *Hansung Sunbo*, see *Unesco Survey*, comp. Korean National Commission for Unesco (Seoul: Dong-a Publishing, 1960), 480.

13. *Hansung Sunbo*, an official gazette, was subject to governmental regulations such as the following: "That official announcements shall be given priority, and that news, both foreign and domestic, shall also be printed; That articles to enlighten the people, encourage industry and foster the growth of public moral standards, shall be printed; That the editorial staff members shall consist of Government officials, employed on the basis of familiarity with current affairs

1896 *Tongnip Shinmun* (translated "The Independent Newspaper") appeared as the first purely privately owned newspaper in Korea and left "a revolutionary record in the history of the Korean press."[14] It became the first modern Korean newspaper.[15] Published three times a week, it advocated exclusion of foreign control, protection of national sovereignty, elimination of class distinctions, and expansion of civil rights.[16]

The success of *Tongnip Shinmun* during its three-year existence obviously aroused fresh interest in the press among the Koreans.[17] By 1910, the year Japan annexed Korea, twenty-two daily newspapers and numerous weeklies were being published in Korea, according to one study.[18]

As part of its colonization of Korea in 1910, the Japanese closed all private newspapers established at the end of the Yi Dynasty. Consequently, Koreans were to go through the first of the "dark ages" without newspapers of their own for the next ten years.[19] While no private, nationalistic newspapers were allowed during this dark period, the number of newspapers published by the Japanese sharply increased to a total of thirty: sixteen dailies, four triweeklies, six weeklies, and four monthlies.[20]

A significant turning point in the history of the Korean press was provided not by the press itself but by a nationwide independence movement of Koreans against the Japanese colonialists. The Samil Independence Movement of March 1919 led the

both at home and abroad as well as for their skill in writing; That the newspaper shall, for the time being, be printed in Chinese characters only." *Unesco Survey*, 480.

14. Bong-gi Kim, *Korean Journalism*, 1:17. The *Tongnip Shinmun*'s stature as the first private newspaper in Korea is nonpareil in that the Korean press annually commemorates 7 April, the date of the paper's founding, as its Newspaper Day.

15. Bae-ho Hahn, *Communication Policies in the Republic of Korea* (Paris: UNESCO, 1978), 19. With regard to the criteria for a "modern" newspaper, the author relies on the definition of "a true newspaper," as noted in a leading American journalism history book. In that book, the authors define a "true" newspaper as follows: "It must be published regularly, on a daily or weekly basis; it must appeal to a general-interest audience rather than a specialized one; and it must offer timely news." Michael and Edwin Emery, *The Press and America*, 6th ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1988), 7.

16. For a detailed discussion of *Tongnip Shinmun*, see Chhoe, *Korean Newspapers*, 42–105.

17. *Tongnip Shinmun* was closed in 1899, one year after its founder, Jae-pil So, was forced to return to the United States because of the then ongoing factional strifes within the Korean government. Bong-gi Kim, *Korean Journalism*, 1:20–21. After the abortive Kapshin coup d'etat of 1884, So went on to the United States in 1895 after a short sojourn in Japan. During his stay in the United States, he finished his studies at the University of Washington with a doctorate in medicine. He married an American woman and became an American citizen. He published *Tongnip Shinmun* as an American citizen. Lee, *Communications Development*, 148.

18. Jae-won Lee, "South Korea," in *World Press Encyclopedia*, ed. George Thomas Kurian, 2 vols. (New York: Facts on File, 1982), 1:581.

19. Seong-hi Yim, "Freedom of Press in ROK," 21.

20. Bong-gi Kim, *Korean Journalism*, 1:74.

Japanese Government-General to change its policy in Korea from outright suppression to gradual appeasement in order to soothe the outraged anti-Japanese feeling of the Koreans. This policy change brought into operation *Chosun Ilbo* and *Dong-A Ilbo*, the first private newspapers to appear after the annexation of 1910.[21]

While the Japanese colonial authorities apparently tried to avoid blatant suppression of nationalistic newspapers, they often stepped in to control Korean newspapers in various ways.[22] For example, *Dong-A Ilbo*, up until its closure in 1940 by the Japanese governor-general, had suffered "temporary closings on four occasions; confiscation of copies 489 times; sales bans 63 times; and the killings of editorial items, 2,423 times," not to mention numerous cases involving the arrest, imprisonment, and terrorism of journalists.[23] In 1940, the two leading and most independent newspapers were terminated "as victims to the militaristic oppression of Japan," bringing a second dark age to the Korean press, which lasted until the end of Japanese colonial rule in 1945.

As already noted, the American military government sought to nurture a political democracy in South Korea modeled after the United States. As the State Department declared in August 1946, "the fundamental objectives of occupation policy . . . aim, simply, toward . . . the eventual reconstruction of political life . . . on a peaceful and democratic basis."[24]

Thus, it is hardly surprising that Lt. Gen. John R. Hodge, commander general of the U.S. Army forces in Korea, proclaimed his military government's "libertarian" policy toward the Korean press shortly after the end of World War II. At a news conference with Korean reporters on 11 September 1945, he stated: "Under no circumstances will the U.S. Army interfere with the press. Nor will we impose censorship upon the press. . . . [the]U.S. Army will not tamper with reporting activities of the Korean press. I hope that you, reporters, as of today, will devote your efforts to leading the people as your American counterparts have done so."[25] He made clear, however, that press freedom would not be absolute. "We will take appropriate

21. Woo-keun Han, *The History of Korea*, trans. Kyung-shik Lee, ed. Grafton K. Mintz (Seoul: Eul-Yoo, 1969), 480. For a detailed discussion of the 1 March Independence Movement and its impact on the policy of the Japanese colonial government toward the Korean press, see Chhoe, *Korean Press*, 312–54.

22. For an excellent discussion of the repressive policy of the Japanese colonial government toward the Korean press, see Jin-seok Chung, *Korean Press under Japanese Rule* and Bong-gi Kim, *Korean Journalism*, 1:73–122.

23. Lee, "South Korea," 1:581. See also Kwan-woo Chun, "The Korean Press Today," *Journalism Review*, November-December 1964, 14. *Chosun Ilbo* was subject to similar restrictions by the Japanese rulers during the same period. See Young-hee Won, "'We're Looking for First Issue [of Chosun Ilbo]," *Chosun Ilbo*, 7 March 1990, 27 (U.S. edition).

24. Meade, *American Military Government*, 7.

25. *Maeil Shinbo*, 12 September 1945.

measures if the freedom of the press is abused to such an extent as to violate law and order," he said. "Nevertheless, I am confident that there will be no need to take such measures against the press."[26] It is clear that Hodge's policy statement reflected the Blackstonian concept of press freedom.[27] The American military government would impose no prior restraint on the Korean press, but it would not tolerate breach of the peace or other similar violations by the press.

One month after Hodge's proclamation on press freedom, Maj. Gen. Archibald V. Arnold, the military governor, reaffirmed Hodge's position on a free press in Korea. "As long as freedom of speech and the press is permitted," Arnold said, "it is possible that foolish and careless stories can be published by inexperienced editors. Nevertheless, these childish acts . . . can be dismissed as a matter of nature unless they disrupt law and order and interfere with the orderly administration of the Korean government."[28]

The day before Arnold's statement, the USAMGIK had promulgated Ordinance No. 11 to supersede twelve repressive laws of the Japanese colonial government.[29] The ordinance specifically read that "as of today all the laws and decrees with legal authority shall be rescinded if their judicial and administrative applications result in discriminations because of race, nationality, creeds, or political beliefs."[30] Given that those laws, ordinances, and regulations had been put into force "in pursuance of a [Japanese] policy to suppress the nationalistic aspirations of the Korean people," Ordinance No. 11 was a "de-Japanizing" process for the Korean press.[31]

The libertarian press policy of the USAMGIK precipitated an explosive increase in the number of periodicals, a "mushroom-

---

26. *Maeil Shinbo*, 12 September 1945.
27. Sir William Blackstone, the oracle of the common law in the minds of the American framers, wrote that "the *liberty of the press* is indeed essential to the nature of a free state; but this consists in laying no *previous* restraints upon publications, and not in freedom from censure for criminal matter when published." (emphasis in original) Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, 4 vols. (London: 1765–69), 4:151–52.
28. *Maeil Shinbo*, 11 October 1945.
29. Ordinance No. 11 (9 October 1945). Among the Japanese colonial laws and regulations abolished by Ordinance No. 11 were the Publication Law, Law No. 6 (22 February 1909), and the Publication Rules, Residency-General Decree No. 20 (28 May 1910). For the texts of the publication law and the publication rules, see Hai-chang Lee, *A Study of Korean Press History*, rev. and enlarged ed. (Seoul: Sungmungak, 1983), 412–15.
30. Ordinance No. 11, sec. 2.
31. Pyong Choon Hahm, *Korean Jurisprudence Politics and Culture* (Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1986), 147. For a discussion of the Publication Law of 1909 and other repressive laws enforced by Japanese colonialists, see Edward J. Baker, "The Role of Legal Reforms in the Japanese Annexation and Rule of Korea, 1909–1919," in *Introduction to the Law and Legal System of Korea*, ed. Sang Hyun Song (Seoul: Kyung Mun Sa, 1983), 202–3.

ing of the newspapers of both right and left."[32] As the ideological propaganda war between leftist and rightist papers intensified, the USAMGIK tried to be "strictly neutral" while allowing the Korean press "as much freedom as possible," at least during the early period of its rule.[33] One Korean journalist observed: "Press and radio censorship was exercised on a *voluntary* basis in accordance with the policy of making Korea a free and independent nation. Political neutrality was also maintained. A standing operating procedure was prepared to handle the broadcasting of speeches by all political parties" (emphasis added).[34] Although the American military government often encountered numerous difficulties in helping establish a civilian government in South Korea, it was determined to create a free but self-regulated press in the mold of the American media. Noting that Koreans regained freedom of the press at the end of World War II after being deprived of it during the Japanese rule, Hodge expressed his satisfaction with "the good overall record" of the Korean press in striving for the "best tradition of a responsible free press."[35]

In October 1946 Hodge reaffirmed his September 1945 pledge to a free press in Korea. "It is not intended that censorship of the press be established," he said. "The Americans do not fear any presentation of facts. Honest and constructive criticism of governmental policies based on actual facts are considered helpful and are welcome. In fact, this is one of the functions of a free press."[36] Notwithstanding occasional non-libertarian adjustments of press policy to deal with actual or perceived abuses by the Korean press of its freedom, the basic tenet of the military government's approach toward Korean press freedom was typically libertarian. As one report on the activities of the USAMGIK noted: "During the three years of American occupation of South Korea, 'freedom of the press' has been the byword of the Department of Public Information. Lt-Gen. John R. Hodge . . . repeated again and again that the press must be kept

---

32. Sunwoo Nam, "Newspapers Under Tribulation: The Present-day Korean Press?" *Gazette* 24 (1978): 120. One American journalism professor wrote in 1958 that "in Seoul, almost overnight, there were 24 dailies and uncounted publications of irregular frequency, but little resembling responsible journalism." Rowland, "Press in the Korean Republic," 450. See also Hahn, *Communication Policies*, 19: "In a matter of weeks, no fewer than sixty-eight newspapers mushroomed." For detailed statistical data on newspapers and other periodicals published between 1945 and 1948, see *Summation of United States Army Military Activities in Korea*, no. 12 (September 1946): 78; no. 19 (April 1947): 65; no. 22 (July 1947): 100 (hereafter cited as *USAMGIK Summation*); *South Korean Interim Government Activities*, no. 24 (September 1947): 128; no. 34 (July-August 1948): 240 (hereafter cited as *SKIG Activities*).

33. Myung Shik Koh, "A History of Korean Journalism under U.S. Military Government, 1945–1948," (Masters thesis, University of Iowa, 1967), 42–43.

34. Koh, "History of Korean Journalism," 43

35. *USAMGIK Summation*, no. 13 (October 1946): 26, 82.

36. *USAMGIK Summation*, no. 13 (October 1946): 82.

free. Communist papers must be allowed their place on the newsstands, provided their statements were not libelous."[37] In connection with this hortatory, if not always actual, commitment to a free press, the "Proclamation of the Rights of the Korean People" issued on 5 April 1948 by the commanding general of the U.S. forces in South Korea is noteworthy. It enumerated eleven "inherent liberties" guaranteed by the Bill of Rights of the U.S. Constitution, including those of speech and the press.[38] However, the Proclamation qualified the exercise of these basic liberties by providing that "they are not inflammatory to the extent of inciting disorder or the overthrow of government."[39]

One might ask whether the American military government's press policy resulted from a firm commitment to the freedom of the Korean press as a basic right of Koreans. If not, did the USAMGIK authorities simply adopt their American free press concept as an easy model with which to experiment in Korea? Indeed, it is especially noteworthy that the Americans came to Korea "without any knowledge of the policy determinants" relating to their transitional rule of Koreans. As one Korea expert observed: "Confronted with a strange language and unfamiliar culture, and with no initial conception of the intensity of Korean desires, the Americans were forced to rely upon limited knowledge, ingenuity, and common sense."[40] A close look at the American military government's press policy in Korea well illustrates how libertarian press theory fares in a foreign country amidst authoritarian sociopolitical and ideological impediments rarely compatible with American society.

As noted previously, the laissez-faire press policy of the American military government led to "a golden age for Korean newspapers which tended to rouse the people's political interest in the ideologies they leaned toward."[41] It is simplistic to conclude, however, that the emergence of ideological sensationalism in the Korean press solely stemmed from the libertarian press views of the U.S. military government. Given the thesis that "the press always takes on the form and coloration of the social and political structures within which it operates," it was, to a certain extent, a natural consequence.[42] Amidst the confusion largely precipitated by their sudden liberation from the oppressive colonial rule of Japan, Koreans were impatient to gain independence from any type of foreign dominance. The Korean press often regarded its newly gained freedom as an

37. *SKIG Activities*, no. 34 (July-August 1948): 239. See also *USAMGIK Summation*, no. 13 (October 1946): 82–83.
38. *SKIG Activities*, no. 31 (April 1948): 167.
39. *SKIG Activities*, no. 31 (April 1948): 167.
40. Meade, *American Military Government*, 224.
41. *The Korean Press 1985* (Seoul: Korean Press Institute, 1985), 11.
42. Siebert et al., *Four Theories*, 1.

unlimited right to indulge in what Japanese rule had forbidden—the open criticism of ruling authorities.

Further, the ideological divisions among the "acutely politically conscious" Koreans were intensified by the developments that culminated in October 1945 in the Moscow agreement on the "four-power trusteeship" of Korea.[43] One Korean scholar aptly noted that "the Moscow agreement on Korea became the crucial issue that divided the political leaders and people throughout the whole of Korea into two opposing and hostile camps: the right-wing nationalist camp that opposed it and the Communist, including the leftist, camp that accepted it."[44]

In an effort to cope with numerous negative side effects of Korean "yellow journalism" upon their administration, the American rulers in October 1945 promulgated Ordinance No. 19, which provided for registration of newspapers and other publications.[45] The ordinance stipulated in part:

> In order that freedom of speech and freedom of the press may be preserved and safeguarded without being perverted to unlawful and subversive purposes, the registration of every organization engaged in printing of books, pamphlets, papers or other reading materials in Korea south of 38" North Latitude sponsored, owned, directed, controlled, or managed by any natural or juridical person is hereby ordered.[46]

In the meantime, U.S. military authorities took concrete measures to tackle several intractable newspapers, whether of the left or right. For example, when *Maeil Shinbo*, a leftist newspaper, refused to publish Arnold's statement denouncing a leftist political organization, it was the target of increasing suppression by the authorities. As if to teach "a lesson to the south Korean press corps," they accused the paper of being communist-controlled.[47] After an investigation of the *Maeil Shinbo* found that the paper had its accounts in arrears, the U.S. military government ordered Maeil presses to cease.[48] When a rightist paper, *Daedong Shinmun*, in May 1946 carried an article

43. Meade, *American Military Government*, 224.

44. Hakjoon Kim, "American Military Government," 67–68.

45. Ordinance No. 19 (30 October 1945). For the English text of Ordinance No. 19, see *A Complete Compilation of Laws and Ordinances of the U.S. Army Military Government in Korea* (Seoul: Korean Legislation Research Association, 1975), 75–78 (hereafter cited as *USAMGIK Laws and Ordinances*).

46. *USAMGIK Laws and Ordinances*, sec. 5.

47. Bruce Cumings, *The Origins of the Korean War* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1981), 194.

48. Cumings, *Origins of the Korean War*, 194, citing *History of the United States Armed Forces in Korea*, 4 vols. (Tokyo and Seoul: United States Armed Forces in Korea, 1947–48), 2:26. According to Cumings, the purpose of this investigation was to "discover some flaw which could be used as a legitimate reason for controlling the paper if it seemed advisable. 'It was like getting Al Capone for his income tax,' said one of the officers charged with the investigation."

openly inciting youth to follow the example of Im-ho Park, who had assassinated a leftist leader, the authorities suspended the paper.[49] Further, the military tribunal of the government fined *Inchun Shinmun*, a leftist newspaper, for publication of an allegedly defamatory story about an official of the Inchun city government.[50]

Obviously out of "exasperation" over the ever-deteriorating sociopolitical situations in South Korea, the USAMGIK issued Ordinance No. 55 in February 1946 and Ordinance No. 72 in May 1946.[51] One commentator noted that the two ordinances violated the freedoms guaranteed by the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.[52] Ordinance No. 55 required registration of political parties, and No. 72 detailed punishable offenses against the military government related to freedom of association and expression, including the act of "communicating information which may be harmful to the security or property of the occupation forces" and any unauthorized forms of communication "with any person outside of the occupied territory."[53] It further included:

> Publishing, importing or circulating printed, typed or written matter which is detrimental or *disrespectful* to the occupying forces;
>
> Knowingly making *any false or misleading statement*, orally or in writing, to any member of or person acting under authority of, the occupying forces, in a matter of official concern; or in any manner defrauding, misleading or refusing to give information required by the Military Government.[emphasis added][54]

Notwithstanding the increasingly tough attitude of the military government evidenced by Ordinance No. 72, its impact upon the Korean press was not so serious as initially assumed; it was orally suspended the next month.[55] The government offered no specific reasons for the suspension, but one commentator surmised that it was due to criticism from the Korean public.[56]

When the abuse of press freedom continued unabated, the American rulers resorted to licensing, which undoubtedly vio-

---

49. Chhoe, *Korean Press*, 359.
50. Chhoe, *Korean Press*, 359.
51. Hahm, *Korean Jurisprudence*, 150.
52. Cumings, *Origins of the Korean War*, 531 n. 131.
53. For the text of Ordinance No. 55, see *Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers Summation*, no. 5 (February 1946) and USAMGIK, *Official Gazette*, 23 February 1946, cited in Cumings, *Origins of the Korean War*, 531 n. 128.
54. USAMGIK, *Official Gazette*, 4 May 1946, cited in Cumings, *Origins of the Korean War*, 246–47.
55. *USAMGIK Activities*, no. 9 (June 1946), 19. The Ordinance was formally abolished in April 1948. See *SKIG Activities*, no. 31 (April 1948), 66.
56. Hahm, *Korean Jurisprudence*, 150.

lated "the most venerated of all first amendment theories: the prior restraint doctrine."[57] In May 1946, under Ordinance No. 88, which vested licensing authority in the USAMGIK Department of Commerce, every newspaper or periodical was required to acquire licenses and display them prominently.[58] Although the immediate reason for changing from registration to licensing was a shortage of newsprint, the primary objective of licensing was to regulate the leftist papers, which engaged in more vociferous and inflammatory political journalism.[59] No leftist paper was licensed under the ordinance.

Although the broadcasting media were not so inflammatory as their print counterparts, the military government enforced the "Broadcasting Regulation Rule" to ensure that the media would be used to promote the public interest. The rule prohibited stations from broadcasting "unverifiable" news stories and defamatory false reports as well as "titillating, obscene, or blasphemous reports."[60] One Korean scholar said the regulations "were formally modelled after the public interest section of the Communications Act of 1934 in the U.S."[61] He noted, however, that one of the many differences between the two related to programming censorship. That is, "programs to be broadcasted had to obtain prior permission from the [U.S. military] government," and he added, "The director of Public Information took power to control broadcasting programs."[62]

As it turned out, Ordinance No. 88 did not result in extermination of the leftist newspapers. The communists "defied the U.S. Military Government by buying the licenses of existing

---

57. Martin H. Redish, *Freedom of Expression* (Charlottesville, Va.: Michie, 1984), 5. One leading authority on freedom of the press in the United States has observed: "American constitutional law holds few principles dearer than the idea that prior restraints on publication are inconsistent with freedom of expression. . . . [E]ven the most niggardly views of freedom of expression have accepted that principle since well before the drafting of the First Amendment." Marc A. Franklin and David A. Anderson, *Mass Media Law*, 4th ed. (Westbury, N.Y.: Foundation, 1990), 61.

58. Ordinance No. 88 (29 May 1946), sec. 1. For an English translation of Ordinance No. 88, see *USAMGIK Laws and Ordinances*, 189–91.

59. As a USAMGIK report stated, the ordinance was aimed at placing "a check on the small, fly-by-night propaganda sheets which were printed without authority in one building after another." *SKIG Activities*, no. 34 (July-August 1948): 240.

60. Dong-Jin Kim, "A Study on the Concept of Public Interest in Korean Broadcasting," (Ph.D. diss., Yonsei University [Seoul], 1986), app. 3:160. The Broadcasting Regulation Rule also stipulated: "Stations shall approve or disapprove broadcasting of public announcements or news reports on the basis of whether they are for public interest, convenience, concern and necessity, and at the same time they are for truth, fairness, and justifiable ends; Stations shall not air advertisements of political parties which did not register [with the USAMGIK] in compliance with Ordinance 55."(160)

61. Dong-Jin Kim, "Development of the Concept of Public Interest in Korean Broadcasting," *Korean Social Science Journal* 14 (1988): 161.

62. Dong-Jin Kim, "Public Interest in Korean Broadcasting," 161.

papers to continue publishing leftist papers under different names."[63] But the ordinance provided other grounds for revoking or suspending licenses, such as "the making of any false or misleading statement or omission in the application for a licensee" or "failure to report any change in the information furnished in the application, as . . . required."[64] One American expert on Korea observed that "in September and October 1946, the military government "suspended publication of all extreme left-wing newspapers and other publications in view of their persistent violation of ordinances regarding the inciting of revolt. Four newspapers were thus shut down and the extreme left was then unable so easily to dispense with inflammatory propaganda."[65] The ordinance was invoked by the American military government to ban *Uri Shinmun* and *Shinmun Ilbo* on the grounds that they published false and misleading statements.[66]

Ordinance No. 88 was not as effective as its proponents had hoped in restraining the Korean press. Consequently, a year later, the USAMGIK took another step backward. In September 1947, at the strong insistence of the American military governor, the Legislative Council abolished Ordinance No. 88 but passed a new law regulating newspapers and periodicals.[67] Under this law, primarily designed to address the weaknesses of the abolished ordinance, the licensing system was retained and the director of public information was empowered to suspend or revoke a license.[68] Article 6 enumerated the following grounds on which the director of public information could withdraw the license or suspend publication of newspapers or other publications:

1. If falsity is found in the application papers;
2. If falsity or negligence is found in reporting as stipulated [by the law];
3. If the publication is different from the licensed one;

63. Bong-gi Kim, *Korean Journalism*, 2:10.64. Ordinance No. 88, sec. 4.
65. McCune and Grey, *Korea Today*, 86. But compare Won-soon Park, "History of Enforcement of National Security Act Against the Press," in *Collection of Papers in Commemoration of Mr. Young-hee Lee's 61st Birthday*, ed. Editorial Committee on Collection of papers in Commemoration of Young-hee Lee's 61st Birthday (Seoul: Dure, 1989), 498. Park cites Hui-sang Chung, "American Military Government's Massacre of the Press," *Mahl*, May 1987, 27, who says that around the end of 1947 most leftist and/or anti-USAMGIK newspapers disappeared due to the "press massacre" by the American military government.
66. Chhoe, *Korean Press*, 378.
67. The Legislative Council was the legislative branch of the South Korean Interim Government (SKIG) organized by the USAMGIK in late 1946. Half of its members were elected by popular vote and the other half were appointed by the U.S. military governor. Donald Stone Macdonald, *The Koreans: Contemporary Politics and Society*, 2d ed. (Boulder, Colo.: Westview, 1990), 48.
68. The Law Governing Newspapers and Other Periodicals (19 September 1947), arts. 2,6. For the text of that law, see *A Complete Collection of Korean Laws and Regulations Governing the Press, 1945–1981*, ed. Jin-suk Chung (Seoul: Shinyoung Journalism Fund of Kwanhun Club, 1982), 20. For an English translation of the law, see Bong-gi Kim, *Korean Journalism*, 2:12–15.

> 4. If the publication commits an offense or instigates disturbance of law and order or *confuses* people by reporting false articles.(emphasis added)

Furthermore, under Article 8 publishers and editors could be imprisoned or fined, as determined by the law. In the face of stiff opposition from the Korean press, the American military government backed off and requested the Legislative Council to reexamine the law.[69] Because the legislative body of the government was soon dissolved, the law was shelved until the end of the military rule in August 1948.

The American military government closed Haibang News Agency in October 1947 for violating Proclamation No. 2, which forbade "the violation of any proclamation, order or directive" issued under the authority of the Commander-in-Chief of the U.S. Army Forces-Pacific or any act to disturb public peace.[70] The USAMGIK said that the news agency had "committed acts to the prejudice of good order and hostile and prejudicial to the life, safety and security of the persons and property of the United States, calculated to disturb public peace and order and prevent the administration of justice, in violation of Proclamation Number 2."[71]

In April 1948, the American military rulers also invoked the Newspaper Law of 1907, one of the suppressive press laws that Japan had forced the Korean royal cabinet to promulgate.[72] The so-called Kwangmu Newspaper Law case, which arose from an editorial published in *Noryuk Inmin*, a communist newspaper.[73] In the editorial the newspaper praised the mastermind of the communist-inspired attempt of May 1946 to counterfeit currency in Korea. It also criticized the prosecutorial authorities of the U.S. military government for demanding severe punishment against those allegedly involved in counterfeiting notes. Kwang-Soo Kim, the publisher, was tried for the editorial and sentenced to ten months in prison. On appeal, the Seoul Appellate Court

---

69. Bong-gi Kim, *Korean Journalism*, 2:16.
70. *SKIG Activities*, no. 25 (October 1947): 125.
71. U.S. Army Military Government in Korea, *Official Gazette*, no. 7 (18 October 947): 618. Haibang News Agency was the only news agency in South Korea under American military rule that carried Tass. There were five other news agencies in operation from 1945 to 1948. See Chhoe, *Korean Press*, 375–76.
72. Law No. 1 (1 July 1907). The Newspaper Law prohibited publication of several categories of news stories, including articles that profaned the dignity of the royal family, undermined the Constitution, proved detrimental to international amicability, distorted crimes or justified and protected criminal defendants, or falsely defamed others. See articles 11, 13, 15. According to one Korean legal scholar, the Newspaper Law was enacted "to control the press which had been becoming increasingly anti-Japanese." Hahm, *Korean Jurisprudence*, 135. For a discussion of the Newspaper Law, see Kyu Ho Youm, "Freedom of the Press in South Korea, 1945–1983: A Sociopolitical and Legal Perspective" (Ph.D. diss., Southern Illinois University, 1985), 58–61.
73. Seoul Appellate Court, 7 April 1948, Hyungsang 369, *Korean Press Annual 1968* (Seoul: Korean Newspapers Association, 1968), 515.

rejected the prosecutor's argument that the Newspaper Law should be applied. Noting that the newspaper law had been enacted and promulgated by Japanese against the will of Koreans, the court held that Ordinance No. 11, sec. 2., invalidated the law.[74] However, on "jumping appeal," the Supreme Court of Korea reversed that decision, ruling that the Kwangmu Newspaper Law was a proper statute Koreans had enacted of their own free will, not one passed by Japanese to enforce against Koreans alone.[75] Accordingly, the Court reasoned, "It is self-evident that the law cannot be discriminatory in the sense defined by Ordinance No. 11, sec. 2."[76]

Under the USAMGIK rule from 1945 to 1948, South Korea was a society in political chaos after a brief celebration over its liberation from Japan's repressive colonial rule.[77] Faced with the daunting task of governing a sociopolitically tumultuous society, the American military government was ill prepared for the task. As one American Korea scholar noted, "Hodge had been given almost no policy guidance and had no preparation for the unusually delicate job to which he was assigned."[78] Thus, it is not surprising that the USAMGIK adopted a familiar model of the libertarian press as practiced in the United States, though virtually unknown to Koreans up to that time.

One may speculate on what contributed to Hodge's September 1945 proclamation of press freedom. He may have understood the value of the mass media proposition that "when one nation endeavors to impose its culture pattern upon that of a

74. *Korean Press Annual 1968*, 515.

75. Kwang-Soo Kim v. State, Supreme Court, 21 May 1948, Bisang 1, *Korean Press Annual 1968*, 515. The "jumping appeal," called *Biyaksanggo* in Korean, is a special type of appeal recognized in Korean judicial proceedings. It is directly carried to the Supreme Court against a judgment of a lower court. In criminal cases, it is possible whenever a prejudicial error has been committed in the application. The Code of Criminal Procedure, Law No. 341 (13 September 1954), as revised by Law No. 3955 (28 November 1987), art. 372. For an English translation of the Code of Criminal Procedure, see *Laws of the Republic of Korea*, 4th ed., 3 vols. (Seoul: Korean Legal Center, 1990), 3:X103–X165.

76. *Korean Press Annual 1968*, 515.

77. Dai-Kwon Choi, "The Development of Law and Legal Institutions in Korea," in Bong Duk Chun, William Shaw, and Dai-Kwon Choi, *Traditional Korean Legal Attitudes* (Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California-Berkeley, 1980), 87. See also Dai-Kyu Yoon, *Law and Political Authority in South Korea* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview, 1990), 27. Yoon notes that "a sudden lifting of all forms of political constraints created an atmosphere of total freedom, which soon turned into undisciplined license."

78. Robert T. Oliver, *Syngman Rhee and American Involvement in Korea, 1942–1960* (Seoul: Panmun, 1978), 16. Soon Sung Cho, *Korea in World Politics 1940–1950* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), 61, argues that the United States "was completely unprepared and it has paid dearly for this error." Joungwon Alexander Kim, *Divided Korea: The Politics of Development, 1945–1972* (Cambridge: East Asian Research Center, Harvard University, 1975), 53, calls Korean policy "very poorly coordinated." Won-sul Lee, *The United States and the Division of Korea, 1945* (Seoul: Kyunghee University Press, 1982), 92, says that United States forces "had practically no preparations."

people with a very different one and to achieve it in a very brief time, what tools are more worth study than the media of mass communication?"[79] Hodge's policy statement upheld the free press concept, but did not present Koreans with the procedures needed to make a free press work.[80] As one Korean journalism professor put it, "It is indeed true that the USAMGIK brought freedom of the press to South Korea with it. But it is we [Koreans] that did not adopt it as it is."[81]

Communication scholar William Hachten has observed that "all press systems reflect the *values* of the political and economic systems of the nations within which they operate."[82] To a considerable extent, the sociopolitical circumstances unique to the U.S. military rule of South Korea may explain the shift in USAMGIK press policy. An American observer of the Korean press during the American military rule said in 1947: "Removal of Japanese restrictions has brought a wide measure of freedom of speech and expression. But the unhappy political situation [in Korea] has not been conducive to the development of objective and well-informed reporters or wise and public-spirited editors."[83] Of course, the basic goal of the USAMGIK press policy was to create a milieu favorable to a free and responsible press. But when that policy brought adverse effects upon Korean society in general or the military government in particular, the USAMGIK took a number of legal and non-legal measures against the Korean press. Instead of avoiding interference, it adopted restrictions to stem the never-ending practices of partisan journalism. The military rulers also turned to licensing to deal with the inflammatory leftist press particularly, though it is debatable to what extent the military government succeeded in purging the Korean press of leftist elements through licensing. As one scholar has noted: "[T]here is not much evidence that the licensing system, one of the most loathsome restrictions in a libertarian press, caused any restraining effect on the Communist subversive activities. When a newspaper was suspended, the same publisher could start a newspaper anew under a different title with a figurehead publisher. Despite the licensing system, it cannot be denied that the Korean press enjoyed press freedom."[84]

In 1988, in their study of press freedom and socioeconomic

---

79. Chilton R. Bush, foreword to *Conquered Press: The MacArthur Era in Japanese Journalism*, by William J. Coughlin (Palo Alto, Calif.: Pacific, 1952).
80. One authority on South Korea characterized General Hodge as the "key figure dominating both American policies and means of implementing them in south Korea." Oliver, *Syngman Rhee*, 74.
81. Yong Chang, *The Press and Human Rights* (Seoul: Sunmyung Munhwa Sa, 1969), 128.
82. William A. Hatchten, *The World News Prism*, 3d ed. (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1992), 16.(emphasis in original)
83. J. Franklin Ray, Jr., "Reorganization of Education System," *Voice of Korea*, 30 August 1947, 214–16.
84. Koh, "History of Korean Journalism," 106.

development in South Korea, two American scholars argued that the American military government "sought, without success, to impose Western-style press freedom" in Korea.[85] One illustration of the failure was the government's attempt to invoke the Newspaper Law against a leftist newspaper. One journalism historian described the case as a serious policy mistake resulting from the military authorities' ignorance of the history of the law.[86] "If the U.S. military government had known how effectively the Japanese colonial rulers had used the law to suppress the Korean press," he argued, "they would not have applied the law to the Korean press. In short, the United States . . . was too unprepared and uninformed about Korea to rule Korea with a military government."[87]

On the other hand, although the notorious law apparently violated Ordinance No. 11, it was fortunate that with a "wise" ruling on the case the judiciary could check the military government's dictatorial way of administrating the law, according to one Korean scholar.[88]

Ordinance No. 88 had its greatest impact upon the Korean press after the American military government was replaced by the First Republic of Korea under President Syngman Rhee on 15 August 1948. The Rhee regime used the ordinance, for example, to close the *Seoul Shinmun* in May 1949 on the ground that it violated article 4.[89] Claiming that *Seoul Shinmun* carried positive stories about North Korea while ignoring news of the South Korean government, a spokesman for the Rhee administration argued that "the paper should immediately stop its anti-State approach to news reporting and its notion of newspaper production similar to that of destructive and subversive Communist followers. Freedom of the press should not be interpreted as a way to destroy the government."[90] The closure of *Seoul Shinmun* gave rise to a political controversy that was eventually debated by the National Assembly. Before the assembly, the vice public information director of the Rhee government stated that "the government, from now on, will not permit the publication of newspapers which undermine the existence and development of the Republic of Korea."[91]

---

85. Kyu Ho Youm and Michael B. Salwen, "Press Freedom and Social and Econom Economic Progress in the Far East: The Case of South Korea" (Paper presented at the annual convention of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, Portland, Oregon, 3 July 1988). Available on ERIC (ED 297 329, 1989).
86. Chhoe, *Korean Press*, 371.
87. Chhoe, *Korean Press*, 371.
88. Chang, *Press and Human Rights*, 26,
89. Section 3 of article 4 of Ordinance No. 88 said that newspapers and other periodicals shall have their licensees revoked and suspended "when they violate laws."
90. Chhoe, *Korean Press*, 384.
91. Chhoe, *Korean Press*, 384–85.

Several more left-wing newspapers were suspended in violation of Ordinance No. 88 or the Newspaper Law of 1907. For instance, *Hwasung Maeil Shinmun* was closed because it published an article allegedly supporting the communist North Korean formula for national unification. Closure of the paper presumably established a threshold beyond which "no article sympathizing with communists appeared on the newspapers in Korea."[92]

Ordinance No. 88 offered a statutory mechanism by which the Korean government suppressed major newspapers in 1955 and 1959. In 1955 *Dong-A Ilbo* was ordered suspended indefinitely for an apparently inadvertent typographical error. In its 15 March 1955 story on the Korea-U.S. oil agreement, the paper had used the word *Koirai* (puppet) in the headline. *Koirai* was generally reserved for referring to the North Korean regime contemptuously, and it was taboo in South Korea to call the Korean President and his government "Koirai." After finding the error in its news story, the *Dong-A Ilbo* staff made prompt efforts to correct it, but the government suspended the paper under Ordinance No. 88.[93]

In 1959 the Rhee government again used Ordinance No. 88 to close the leading opposition paper, *Kyunghyang Shinmun*. Five alleged criminal offenses of the newspaper were cited as grounds for its closure, one of which involved a misleading article on President Rhee's news conference.[94] *Kyunghyang Shinmun* challenged the governmental action as being largely politically motivated. The ensuing fight was characterized by a series of political ups and downs until the paper resumed publication after the overthrow of the Rhee government in April 1960. One Korean journalism professor termed the *Kyunghyang Shinmun* case "[t]he most flagrant case of press suppression imposed by [Rhee's] Liberal [Party] regime and one of the most disgraceful scars left upon the Korean press."[95]

No matter how press freedom under American military government rule from 1945 to 1948 is characterized, Koreans for the first time experienced a taste of press freedom as part of their daily life. Indeed, the Korean press, whether right-wing or left-wing, had an unprecedented opportunity to participate in a concrete form of press freedom during the period.

On the other hand, the American military government's experiment, introducing Koreans to the "libertarian" concept of a free press, gives testimony to the considerable verity of Fred

---

92. Chhoe, *Korean Press*, 386.
93. Bong-gi Kim, "Korea," in *The Asian Newspapers' Reluctant Revolution*, ed. John A. Lent (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1971), 97.
94. For a detailed discussion of the *Kyunghyang Shinmun* case, Youm, "Freedom of the Press in South Korea," 160–63.
95. Dong-Chol Kim, "Korean Newspapers: Past and Present," *Korean Report* 2 (September-October 1962): 23.

Siebert's proposition that "the area of freedom contracts and the enforcement of restraints increases as the stresses on the stability of the government and of the structure of society increase."[96] This is especially true of the period after October 1945, during which the government enforced a series of restrictive ordinances beginning with Ordinance No. 19.

There is no denying that the USAMGIK has enormously affected the Korean press. Its press policy, though shifting from laissez faire to interventionist later on, helped inculcate libertarian press theory into Korean press policy. When it came to actually implementating its policy, however, the government employed a number of authoritarian mechanisms that often contradicted its nominal commitment to liberal democracy. Koreans learned from their American rulers to cherish a free press ideal. On the other hand, some of the regulatory measures ultimately adopted by the American military government against the Korean press were subsequently abused by the Korean government after the termination of the USAMGIK. In terms of the *Four Theories* categories, the U.S. military government's actual model of the press in Korea was probably, from the start, closer to "social responsibility theory," in which the military command defined and enforced the standards of responsible behavior on the part of the Korean press.

96. Fred S. Siebert, *Freedom of the Press in England, 1476–1776* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1952), 10.

THE NATION'S NEWSBROKERS: VOLUME ONE, THE FORMATIVE YEARS: FROM PRETELEGRAPH TO 1865.
By Richard A. Schwarzlose.
• Northwestern University Press
• 1989, 385 pp.
• $32.95, Cloth

THE NATION'S NEWSBROKERS: VOLUME TWO, THE RUSH TO INSTITUTION: FROM 1820 TO 1920.
By Richard A. Schwarzlose.
• Northwestern University Press
• 1990, 366 pp.
• $32.95, Cloth

SCHOLARS OF journalism history have long relied on a few standard sources on the history of cooperative newsgathering and the wire services, such as the work of Victor Rosewater and Joe Alex Morris, among others. We read and studied these works in graduate school, and were told by our teachers that they were "the history" we needed to know. But these works always seemed to leave too many questions unanswered, and their inadequacy only became more apparent as we became more mature as historians. At last, Richard Schwarzlose has given us a history of cooperative newsgathering that answers many of those questions, while posing new ones in a stimulating and engaging manner.

Schwarzlose's two-volume history takes his readers on a winding journey through the long history of the development of cooperative newsgathering and newsbrokering spanning the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and culminating with the dawn of a new age of electronic and mass communications in the 1920s. Schwarzlose's key conceptual term is *newsbrokering*, which he uses to describe the intricately woven, emerging relationship among newspapers, telegraph companies, and the agents and agencies that fed the news appetite of the growing press, i.e., what others have called cooperative newsgathering, press associations, and wire services. Schwarzlose's *newsbrokering* is a generous gift to his colleagues in the field of journalism/media history. It is a powerful and pregnant conceptual term that far more accurately captures the true essence of the subject matter than any previously used term.

Volume 1 lays down a path that starts with the first stirrings of newsbrokering in the eighteenth century and ends with the close of the Civil War. It covers territory familiar to even the greenest doctoral student, e.g., the post roads, newspaper exchanges between printers and editors, the use of trains, pigeons, and fast sloops to gather and disseminate news. The story of the emerging new technologies, such as steam power, and their application to transportation and communication is told, along with the growth of the urban mass press, the development and growth of the electric telegraph, and the rise of the first New York State and New York City press associations. However, while the topics are familiar, it is the power of the insight the reader draws from Schwarzlose's conceptualization of an emerging system of newsbrokering that transforms this once familiar trip into a fresh, even exciting exploration of virgin land.

Volume 2 similarly is powered by the strength of Schwarzlose's conceptual insight as he examines the post-Civil War explosion of the news business into a major industry; the chaos of competing wire services and their jousting for control of a national newsbrokering system; the role and impact of the empire of Western Union; the victorious monopoly of the modern Associated Press and the challenge of its modern competitors, the United Press and the International News Service. Again, as with volume 1, the reader is made to rethink what was once familiar. The reader comes

away with a new understanding of, and fresh insights into, the history of journalism and mass communication in the United States, and not just the history of press associations.

While newsbrokering is the concept that enables Schwarzlose to hold together a tale that is complex and intricate, it is the author's holistic approach to the subject that reveals the pattern of the tale. He reaches beyond sources on the emergence of the wire services and their relationships with the burgeoning urban press, to encompass research in the growth of the telegraph industry, the growth of the railroad, and the rise of the transoceanic steamship companies, all set firmly within the context of the history of American business and industry. Schwarzlose has left far behind the contributions of his predecessors. While the works of Rosewater and others still retain value, their narrow focus on newspapers and wire services will henceforth pale in comparison to the far more richly textured work of Schwarzlose. It is difficult to describe the intricacy with which Schwarzlose works. All readers will find helpful the discussion sections that conclude each chapter, and in which the author brings together the strands of what has preceded.

Finally, Schwarzlose undertakes to update the historical record by pointing out errors in his predecessors' research. However, his purpose is not just to debunk past errors and shortsightedness in research; he also openly acknowledges the contributions of his predecessors to his own work. Those of us who know Schwarzlose have admired his patience and his diligence in pursuing this project. This was once the long-awaited, great unpublished work. Its fame was legendary. Now begins its much deserved time as the great published work, the definitive history of newsbrokering to 1920. We are all enriched by it.

. . . Joseph P. McKerns
Ohio State University

●

TELLING LIES IN MODERN AMERICAN AUTOBIOGRAPHY.
By Timothy Dow Adams.
• University of North Carolina Press
• 1990, 206 pp.
• $24.95, Cloth

THIS BOOK FOCUSES on five twentieth-century American authors whose autobiographies contain material contrary to fact: Gertrude Stein, Sherwood Anderson, Richard Wright, Mary McCarthy, and Lillian Hellman. The latter two are of particular interest to the journalism historian with an interest in creative nonfiction, which includes autobiography and memoir as well as the essay and literary journalism. Hellman, of course, has received considerable criticism for her autobiographical narratives, owing to the perception that they are particularly self-aggrandizing. In fact, the Hellman-McCarthy feud of the 1980s dates to McCarthy's public remark about Hellman: "Every word she writes is a lie, including 'and' and 'the,'" McCarthy said in January 1980, answering Dick Cavett's question about which writers she believed were overrated. Hellman then sued McCarthy for defamation, but Hellman died before the suit reached court.

Adams demonstrates convincingly that lying in autobiography, esepecially literary autobiography, is "often a highly strategic decision on the author's part." Mythmaking abounds in the first-person narrative, but not because authors deliberately set out to lie. "Rather than blaming our autobiographers for discrepancies between their stories and supposedly verifiable facts," Adams writes, "we should realize, on the one hand, that memory's deceptions are not always conscious and, on the other, that the duplicity of memory affords us one of the most powerful avenues of entry into the self-identity of the writer."

Adams discusses with some insight the autobiographical narratives of Hellman (*An Unfinished Woman, Pentimento, Scoundrel Time,* and *Maybe*) and McCarthy (*Memories of a Catholic Girlhood, How I Grew*). He shows how

autobiographers' telling of small untruths—their variations on verifiable reality—ultimately point the way to larger truths. In other words, truth is compromised for Truth—and often, not consciously.

At the same time, Adams acknowledges differences between "changing a school friend's name and historical situation to satisfy a psychological truth about [oneself, the writer], and deliberately altering someone else's historical truth, as Janet Cooke did in inventing 'Jimmy.'" This book will not encourage journalism students to play fast and loose with the truth. But it will lead readers to consider how writers of autobiography have approached the tension between truth and Truth—between memory and imagination. Such knowledge is particularly valuable for the historian of literary journalism—for literary journalists have also had to deal with these issues.

. . . *Nancy Roberts*
University of Minnesota

●

CIVILIZING VOICES: AMERICAN PRESS CRITICISM, 1880–1950.
By Marion Tuttle Marzolf.
• Longman
• 1991, 223 pp.
• $41.95, Cloth

THIS STUDY BY Professor Marzolf of the University of Michigan traces the public criticism about the performance and responsibility of journalism from 1880 to 1950. Its theme is well summarized by the author on page 3 of the introduction: "I began this research on modern press criticism because I could not find an existing historical account to use in my new class on journalistic performance. I might have returned to our colonial heritage and taken the journey forward from there. But I believed that today's standards and values were mainly shaped around the turn of the century when a 'new journalism' challenged and replaced an old journalism that was rooted in the partisan political tradition. That change created the need for new ways of thinking about the press. A new audience existed in an urban culture that was forging a new social style in America.

"Everyone read the 'new journalism,' from the recently educated common laborers and maids to the clerks, salespeople, bankers, lawyers, and society leaders. In modified form, the new journalism is still today's journalism. The challenge this new style presented to society and to a budding profession offered an excellent opportunity for an examination of modern journalistic values and ideals. There was intense criticism of the press from outside and from inside. As the old and new values clashed, press critics kept raising the issues of moral purpose and democratic idealism to counter the strong forces of commercialization and impersonality. In this way, press criticism served as a civilizing force, a balancing agent, sometimes restraining and sometimes encouraging social change while protecting essential values."

Professor Marzolf has created a lattice-work of standard journalism history upon which she has placed the fruits of her five-year study of published criticism of newspapers. Well-versed through teaching and research in media history, she has integrated that background exceedingly well with the voices of the critics.

For example, in her chapter "The Quest for an Ideal Newspaper: 1900–1910," Marzolf presents the well-known Robert Park, Arthur Brisbane, Lydia K. Commander, Alfred Harmsworth, and Henry Watterson. But she also presents the writings of social scientists Carroll Clark, W. I. Thomas, and Frances Fenton; book authors Hamilton Holt and James Edward Rogers, and other lesser-known critics. The chapter footnotes include titles of four books, five social science research journals, two press journals (*Editor and Publisher* and the *Journalist*), and ten general magazines ranging from *Arena* to *Munsey's*. Skillfully integrated, the material makes a readable and intellectually stimulating fourteen pages.

One of the book's major contributions is the chap-

ter "The Objectivity Standard: 1920–1948," which traces the rise of news interpretation as a challenge to the traditional definition of objectivity. The mosaic of quoted opinion ranges from Walter Lippmann to Theodore Glasser, from Curtis McDougall to Elmer Davis, enhancing the lattice-work of media history.

Marzolf looks at yellow journalism, jazz journalism, the New Deal era, and the rise of public relations. Her assignment closes with an account of the press responsibility issue in the 1940s, and her evaluation of professional criticism. All told, a "must" book for print media scholars.

. . . Edwin Emery (emeritus)
University of Minnesota

●

TIES THAT BIND IN CANADIAN/AMERICAN RELATIONS: POLITICS OF NEWS DISCOURSE.
By Richard L. Barton.
• Lawrence Erlbaum
• 1990, 240 pp.
• $39.95, Cloth

ASIDE FROM FIVE pages on "The Historical Context of Canadian/American Relations," there is not much history in this 160-page volume by Richard Barton. But the Pennsylvania State University scholar does celebrate the qualitative approach so ardently embraced by historians and others wanting to get beyond counting and categorizing into meaning.

In short, Barton argues that if we look beyond the column inches and minutes of time devoted to Canadian coverage by American media we will reach more substantive conclusions than the ritual-produced, misleading mythology we receive about one of our closest international neighbors. Analyzing issues including acid rain, cruise missiles, and the 1989 trade treaty, Barton concludes that both network television and the prestige press are "aggressively ethnocentric" and offer the public forum comparatively few opportunities to understand and evaluate specific Canadian/American issues in the context of the larger internationl community.

The news is largely not connected to or informed by international politicial discourse about Canada's international role as a major world peacekeeper, he writes. Appeals are framed for a highly generalized, apolitical audience perspective that is locked into a domestic worldview. This view neither invites, nor flatters, nor provides grist for one who brings to the news a knowledge of the historical, political details of Canadian/American relations.

The dilemma in the end, Barton says, is not that the American press neglects Canada, as previous quantitatve studies would lead us to expect. Rather the totality of American news treatments, reflecting the arrangements from which their rhetoric springs, provides "a vague profile of Canada." That rough sketch presents Canada politically as nothing more than an occasional irritant to certain American objectives. The bulk of the portrayal is based on our economic imperatives; Canada is an important but culturally faceless marketing opportunity.

Although Barton's book does not say much that has not been said before about the distorting effects of media in reporting the outside world, it is described in the language of Canadian media guru Marshall McLuhan: the form of the news itself is likely to be a contributing political voice in its own right, a political voice that imbues the news with meaning that shapes our understanding (and misunderstanding) of international relations.

Barton does a fine job proving his point. His concluding chapter provides eight propositions to enhance a badly needed discourse with Canada. These include subjective commentary rather than routinized formulas of objectivity, an active adversarial press, and news that speaks with its own voice. Barton also gives a pat on the back to ABC News and the MacNeil-Lehrer NewsHour as among the best of the bad in covering and interpreting Canada.

Not surprisingly, both ABC's Peter Jennings and Robert MacNeil (whose name is unfortunately misspelled "McNeal" throughout the book) are both Canadian-born and well

equipped to provide leadership in solving the dilemma described so well by Barton. His volume is a top-notch example of the use of qualitative research for historians as well as those involved in international relations.

. . . Alf Pratte
Brigham Young University

●

HOLLYWOOD AND BROADCASTING: FROM RADIO TO CABLE.
By Michelle Hilmes.
• University of Illinois Press
• 1990, 264 pp.
• $24.95, Cloth; $13, Paper

MICHELLE HILMES'S book on the complex interrelationship between the motion picture and broadcasting industries offers an important, positive example of institutional analysis in communications history. Hilmes, a professor of communication arts at Spring Hill College in Mobile, Alabama, clearly demonstrates that the parameters of these institutions across boundaries of economics, social history, and even textuality, and she manipulates this multiplicity of meaning with considerable skill.

For historians, the axiomatic version of the Hollywood-broadcasting relationship was centered on conflict. That story might be summarized this way: "After many years of resistance, economic necessity forced the motion picture industry to cooperate with television interests." This story ignores Hollywood's early and longstanding investment in the radio industry. And Hilmes shows us that this tale is equally inadequately explains the motion picture industry's strenuous attempt to colonize television.

Hilmes analyzes popular magazines, trade papers, and archival sources, and her revision of the tale of the three industries—motion pictures, radio, and television—is compelling. She shows that the motion picture interests acted, more or less in concert, to exploit broadcasting possibilities in numerous ways, from very early in the history of the commercialization of broadcasting in the 1920s. Radio and television could function as advertising for upcoming releases; broadcasting could offer additional outlets for stories that had already been "used," whether this meant cannibalizing scripts for such radio shows as "Lux Radio Theater," or screening out-of-date films on television. Finally, broadcasting could even serve as a new source of diversification and profitability for movie studios; Hilmes reports that by the 1960s the major studios were producing 40 percent of network programming.

Hilmes's work is at its most fascinating when she deconstructs a particular program (such as Lux Radio Theater's version of "Dark Victory") to reveal its extraordinarily sophisticated structure as both an economic model devoted to selling consumer products and an artistic text composed of several skeins and levels of narrative. Hilmes, in work influenced by and often impressively reminiscent of Roland Marchand's *Advertising the American Dream* (University of California Press, 1985), shows equal adroitness in dealing with historical detail and theoretical analysis of texts.

The involvement of the motion picture industry with theater television, and so-called "pay television," as described by Hilmes, becomes a history of institutional forces rather than of discrete corporations or evenof an industry. As rationalization and conglomeration blurred the lines between television and the motion picture studios blurred in the 1950s, critical debates emerged. The television networks joined forces with the motion picture studios to protest various subscription television schemes. Their elaborate public relations campaign inveighed mightily against "pay television" as an erosion of free choice and cultural diversity. In fact, lessons learned by television and motion picture interests from similar Hollywood campaigns, especially those against state censorship in the early 1930s showed that the best way to strengthen institutional power and regulate access to that power was to displace their own hard-edged economic motives into abstract evocations of progressive social good.

Hilmes's book is rich with such synthesis, and all media historians will find this work a critical addition to their bookshelves. In accounting for text as well as context, Hilmes points the way toward new responsibilities for researchers in the field.

. . . Kevin Jack Hagopian
University of Wisconsin

●

THE SIX O'CLOCK PRESIDENCY: A THEORY OF PRESIDENTIAL PRESS RELATIONS IN THE AGE OF TELEVISION.
By Frederic T. Smoller.
• Praeger
• 1990, 176 pp.
• $39.95, Cloth

"LADIES AND Gentlemen, the President of the United States." With these words the leader of the free world ascends the podium to do rhetorical battle with the world's media. No other world government engages in this sport of Presidential press conferences except the United States, where the so-called "fourth estate of government" is given an opportunity to ask the most powerful free world leader anything without fear of retaliation. Welcome to the wacky, wonderful world of Presidential press relations.

Frederic Smoller, an associate professor of political science at Chapman College, presents a "comprehensive study of the economics, technology, and personnel of network news and its coverage of the presidency." He divides his book into nine easy-to-read, short chapters in which he effectively argues that "network coverage of the presidency is determined by the political, technical and commercial nature of the medium itself, producing a bias toward negative coverage."

Smoller defines his sample size as "the 5,292 aired presidential news stories that aired on the CBS evening news from January 20, 1969, to January 20, 1985, covering the Nixon, Ford, and Carter Administrations and the first term of the Reagan Administration."(2) Additionally, Smoller explains that television itself shapes the content of network news, and that all the networks interweave major themes into their coverage to provide dramatic unity for their telecasts. Finally, Smoller explains his "four seasons of presidential news."(5) First season—the media profiles, in a positive manner, the new president and his close associates. Second season—coverage shifts to the president's foreign and domestic policies. Third season—the media prematurely evaluate his policies. Fourth season—the media pass judgment on the president himself. These four seasons are basically the president's public opinion report card.

Next, Smoller describes in detail the four primary actors in presidential news: the White House reporters, the Washington bureau assignment editor and news producer assigned to the White House, the New York office of the CBS news division, and finally CBS's new owner. All four actors are strongly committed to covering the Presidency extensively but with different goals, ranging from informing, achieving high ratings, and displaying technical brilliance, to actually confronting White House officials.

Chapters 3 and 4 discuss how CBS's scramble to cover the Presidency extensively results in a predominantly negative portrayal. The networks lavish attention on the Presidency because of built-in incentives for that coverage. These chapters also discuss the rules that define the networks' Presidential news coverage and the way that coverage gets negatively slanted during the broadcasts.

Chapter 5 analyses the "CBS Evening News" transcripts from 20 January 1969 through 20 January 1985. It is also called "Exploring the Six O'Clock Presidency."

Chapter 6, "The Four Seasons of Presidential News," chronicles the changing seasons in which news broadcasts evolve from positive to negative coverage. The first season of Presidential news is extremely positive, offering a personal profile of the president, his family, friends, staff, and pets. The second season shifts to a discussion of the legisla-

tive game plan that the president has or will present to Congress. The tone of this coverage, Smoller asserts, begins positively and rapidly grows negative. The third season occurs when the White House correspondents decide that somebody must pass judgment on the president's policies, even though the policies' effects have not yet been felt in the country. The fourth season is very negative as the president's very competency is questioned by all White House reporters. To halt this erosion of public support, the White House has two possible courses of action: to pull into a shell and isolate itself from the public, or to take the offensive, using all available media tools. The course of action chosen depends on the president's personality and that of his advisors.

The three final chapters discuss the successful and unsuccessful strategies used by Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan to deal with the six o'clock presidency. The final chapter offers some interesting and thought-provoking alternatives to this ever-changing, on-going relationship between the presidency and the media.

My only criticism of Smoller's book is that CBS news was the only organization analyzed, even though he explains that "CBS was chosen over ABC and NBC simply because it is the only network for which transcripts are publicly available."(44) Additionally, the book's title and subtitle tend to mislead the reader into believing that all the networks, including CNN, will be analyzed. Therefore, the title of the book should have been changed to *The CBS Six O'Clock Presidency*.

Overall, *The Six O'Clock Presidency* is an extremely well-written and researched scholarly work. It definitely rekindles the discussion of presidential news coverage and its effects in two crucial areas: the loss of public opinion for the president's policies and programs, which diminishes the president's ability to govern, and the importance of White House staff concerning themselves with the six o'clock presidency and developing strategies to deal with it now and in the future.

. . . Joseph V. Trahan III
Univ. of Southern Mississippi

●

DEMOCRACY WITHOUT CITIZENS: MEDIA AND THE DECAY OF AMERICAN POLITICS.
By Robert M. Entman.
• Oxford University Press
• 1989, 248 pp.
• $25, Cloth; $11.95, Paper

THE OBSERVATION that there is no political life outside of the media is not new. We have been down that road before with Timothy Crouse and Mark Hertsgaard. In *The Boys on the Bus* (Random House, 1973), Crouse showed us a press corps rendered impotent by the onrush of a generation of image-savvy politicians. In *On Bended Knee* (Schocken, 1989), Hertsgaard showed us a White House full of masters of media manipulation.

Both authors observed that the political system no longer exists outside of the press. In recent years successful office holders have learned to run synthetic campaigns, staging events for cameras, ignoring the existence of human beings. Image is all to the new media-driven politics. Politicians refuse to engage humans—especially those in the guise of reporters—at all.

Robert Entman covers much of the same ground in *Democracy without Citizens*. His work is not aimed at a popular audience and serves, in part, as the research material that reinforces the earlier authors' works with reliable data.

Yet that is not all that Entman considers in this slim volume. (There are 140 pages of text, nearly 100 pages of appendices.) He roams the landscape of press philosophy, questioning again the marketplace-of-ideas concept. In a true marketplace, Entman writes, merchants supply only that which the buyers want. What they do not want is not offered. Under this strict definition, the media would supply only the popular ideas, only the "good news."

This is not, of course, the operative ideal that members of the press have em-

braced for the last couple of centuries. Yet in the 1990s, as we hear more about the "reader-friendly" newspapers, we hear managers of large "information" (no longer newspaper) corporations asking readers to define what they want from newspapers, and then giving it to them. The product is a newspaper that the public loves and the journalists hate. Readers read this "product," feel warm and fuzzy, and are insulated from the realities of the world. The whole function of journalism is thereby perverted. A newspaper is not necessarily designed to be a therapeutic experience.

What occurs, of course, is the blanding of America. Competition matters but little in our era. Publishers resist introducing new ideas in their newspapers, fearing they will puzzle and irritate the consumers. We also see the irony of an industry using fantastic technical innovations to deliver a product that elicits at best a deafening "ho-hum" from the consumer. Much effort is made to reach readers, but once the graphics have grabbed their attention, nothing much in the way of a message is offered. It is the greatest time in our history to offer ideas to the marketplace, yet we sell no ideas worth buying.

These are some of the notions Entman explores in his extended essay. This little book may provoke discussions among those dedicated to educating the next generation of journalists, and it is a safe bet that those talks will be less-than-optimistic about the media of the future.

. . . *William McKeen*
University of Florida

●

CREATING AMERICA: GEORGE HORACE LORIMER AND THE *SATURDAY EVENING POST.*
By Jan Cohn.
• University of Pittsburgh Press
• 1989, 368 pp.
• $24.95, Cloth; $12.95, Paper

IN HER INTRODUCTION, the author states that it is the "thesis of this book that George Horace Lorimer set out to create America in and through the pages of the *Saturday Evening Post*."

But it is overstating the case to suggest that Lorimer "created America." What the book is about is the narrow focus of the magazine, a focus that emphasized the Republican Party, family life, women in the home, and the sacred place of the businessman in America, all values that the *Post* promoted, rather than created, as traditionally American. Cohn argues that Lorimer gave the magazine its focus, and, that it expressed his personal value system.

However, *Creating America* gives us few insights, biographical or otherwise, into Lorimer's personality, nor does it say anything that is not generally known about the *Saturday Evening Post*. Cohn makes the case that under Lorimer the *Post* took a dedicated editorial position as the magazine changed from a miscellany into a pillar of popular culture. The publisher, Cyrus Curtis, had little to do with that editorial position, according to Cohn, primarily because he was interested in the magazine as a vehicle for advertising. What Cohn does not consider is that if anyone "invented" the *Saturday Evening Post*, it was the advertisers. In fact, Lorimer's original vision of a magazine aimed at the small businessman lasted only a few years. As Cohn notes, the focus quickly was widened to include women, at the behest of advertisers who saw the benefit of a female readership. Lorimer certainly was the individual who clearly enunciated the editorial philosophy to which readers responded in such enormous numbers (a million readers a week by 1908!), but it was a policy that served Edward Bok, editor of Curtis's *Ladies' Home Journal*, and the advertisers.

Most of the book is devoted to explicating the *Post*, particularly those aspects of the magazine that supported its role as upholder of traditional values. Since there is no argument about this aspect of the *Post*, much of this work seems to berate what is already established. Moreover, the *Post* may be one of the most accessible research tools around. Any-

one interested in a blow-by-blow description can go to the primary source.

What the book misses is an extended discussion of the hegemonic theme that the author mentions in her introduction. Quoting Antonio Gramsci's view that the primary function of mass media is to provide a social construct for its readers that will also support the status quo, Cohn says that yes, the selective construction of social reality is, indeed, Lorimer's "mission."

But that is the beginning and end of the discussion. Certainly no exploration of the idea that Lorimer was chosen for the job precisely because that was how he viewed his mission. It was not the luck of the draw that resulted in Lorimer's selection as editor. Curtis chose him because he thought Lorimer could design an editorial policy that would not only sell magazines but also sell the kind of America that most benefitted corporate advertisers. Lorimer is simply the operating machinery, not the consciousness driving it. Had he "broken down" by advertiser standards—i.e., refused to include women in the demographics of the magazine or, worse, taken on a strident political tone, it is likely that Lorimer would simply have been replaced.

Cohn's study of Lorimer and the *Saturday Evening Post* takes as narrow a focus as the *Post* itself took about American life. The magazine is placed on a kind of remote island, affected primarily by George Horace Lorimer. His resignation, occurring in 1936, is mainly prompted, according to Cohn, when Lorimer's vision of America seemed old-fashioned. She makes no mention that the magazine continued exalting Lorimer's America for more than thirty years after Lorimer's departure.

The author's choice of rather standard "great man" history is ironic since she charges in the acknowledgment that "Methodology and theory for dealing in historical, and in literary-cultural terms with mass–market journalism are extremely ill-developed." Unfortunately, it is not Lorimer who appears so out of date in this work, but the work itself, as it quite ignores the increasing body of research that does indeed study mass-market journalism in literary-cultural terms.

. . . *Patricia Bradley*
Temple University

●

MEDIA HOAXES.
By Fred Fedler.
• Iowa State University Press
• 1989, 292 pp.
• $27.95, Cloth

AS EDITOR OF a college newspaper in 1967, I made up a page of "news we would like to print" in place of an editorial one week. Taking previously published quotes from college administrators about their desire to move away from "in loco parentis," we reported the abolition of women's dormitory hours, elimination of sign-out sheets at women's dorms, addition of students to university committees, and the creation of a combined student-faculty senate.

For a picture on this mock front page, the photo editor dripped some chemicals on an overexposed print to make it look like a night fire in condemned World War II barracks used by the psychology department. The photo looked more like a splotchy print than a fire picture.

Despite a four-line, three-column, twenty-six-point headline on the previous page that stated, in part, "These events have not occurred, but everyone can dream," administrators at women's dormitories went into a panic. To make matters worse, some pranksters took piles of our papers, pulled out the mock front page, and substituted it for the real page 1. They then replaced page 5 with the real front page, which carried the true story of a student confined to her room for 107 nights because car failure once forced her to return late to her dorm.

When our paper appeared, administrators made sure everyone leaving a dorm knew their archaic rules remained in effect. Even though we had written our stories to be realistic suggestions, we were astonished that many people believed them. Al-

though we were not aware of anyone being punished for violating dormitory rules, we talked to many who drove by the old barracks to look for fire damage.

Our experience fit a pattern Fred Fedler found in his research on media hoaxes throughout U.S. history. The stories usually contain facts to add credibility and clues to reveal the stories as fake. Most hoaxes even state that they are phony but the audience did not read carefully or completely. And the writers were amazed when people believe them.

Fred Fedler has been collecting hoaxes for years, and he solicits more in this book. Some of the hoaxes are well known, such as the tall tales of Mark Twain in early Nevada and Orson Welles's famous "War of the Worlds" Halloween radio broadcast of 1938. Some are obscure, like the 1949 escape of circus animals created by a bored radio announcer in Willmar, Minnesota. Fedler reports that "parents rushed to the town's playgrounds to snatch up their children," but he also states that this event happened on "a cold, stormy night in the middle of winter." Hmm.

Some hoaxes were frivolous, such as April Fool's hoaxes that still find their way into print. Many of these are written by Isa Lyar and Lirpa Loof (April Fool spelled backward). Other hoaxes had a serious purpose, like the gruesome, detailed, full-page account of a Chicago theater fire printed by Wilbur Storey's *Chicago Times* in 1875. The paper listed 108 people said to have died and editorialized about the fire danger in Chicago theaters. The hoax was prophetic, Fedler reports. "Twenty-eight years later, a fire occurred almost exactly as Storey predicted, killing 571 people and injuring 359."

Some hoaxes are persistent. H. L. Mencken created a story in 1917 about the nation's first bathtub, installed in Cincinnati in 1842 by a merchant named Adam Thompson. Millard Fillmore, who had inspected Thompson's tub, gave the bathtub respectability when he had one installed in the White House in 1851. Mencken made up every fact in the story and confessed to it at least three times after seeing his "facts" widely circulated. Many continue to credit Fillmore with installing the first bathtub in the White House.

Fedler speculates about the hoaxes' impact and concludes with a brief discussion of journalism's vulnerability, despite a drive for respectability. Hoaxes that would build a career in the nineteenth century today get reporters fired, even over stories as silly as the invention of a patriotic red-white-and-blue pickle with fifty stars.

. . . *William Huntzicker*
University of Minnesota

●

LEOPOLD MAXSE AND THE *NATIONAL REVIEW*, 1893–1914.
By John Hutcheson, Jr.
• Garland
• 1989, 500 pp.
• $67, Cloth

THIS STUDY FILLS a need that has long existed to have a full-length, scholarly treatment of Leopold Maxse and his professional life. Although he has been recognized as one of the most colorful figures in that talented and acclaimed group of editors who vitalized the early twentieth-century British press, he never achieved the position, then or later, of his more influential contemporaries—editors such as J. L. Garvin, J. A. Spender, and H. W. Massingham. This book will increase, and justly so, his stature in history. The irrepressible Maxse was editor and proprietor of the *National Review* from 1893 to 1932, and in that capacity was an important voice of ultraconservative opinion. The image of him that emerges here is that of an uncompromising conservative editor who lived up to Nancy Astor's taunt that he was "all heart and hate."(466)

In this volume, John Hutcheson offers an account of Maxse's work as a militant editor and political participant during the years of his greatest influence, from 1893 to 1914. He portrays Maxse as a reflection of the Radical Right's intransigent opinion, and he provides insight into

the causes the Right advocated, both into the circumstances of their origin and into the manner of their implementation. From this perspective, this study explores the web of Unionist party machinations and only occasionally overindulges in describing its subterranean infighting. It increases our understanding of the recalcitrant Right's Germanophobia and its advocacy of tariff reform, the most pervasive political issue of the era. Maxse participated in many of those political thought and action groups, which punctuated Edwardian politics, and this volume clearly explains their purpose and activities.

Journalism historians will especially appreciate the way the volume illuminates Maxse's editorial techniques. Vivid expression, sardonic invective, and personification of issues characterized his pugnacious writing. "Compared to the staid cadences of other magazines," Hutcheson observes, "Maxse's prose was brash, biting, entertaining, and sometimes infuriating."(54) There is truth in that observation. Not even the Radical H. W. Massingham of the *Nation*, who was a master of journalistic invective, would have stooped to Maxse's description of the front bench of his own Unionist party as "chicken-hearted." (369) For years Maxse was one of the severest critics of Unionist leadership, and it is interesting to see why his influence as a publicist waned after A. J. Balfour resigned as party leader in 1911. Maxse's journalistic style was partly responsible for his declining influence in ensuing years, and Hutcheson's probe into that proposition is one of the most valuable aspects of this study.

This is an excellent book about an engaging figure. Its graceful narrative is balanced by impeccable research. Aside from Maxse's *National Review* and his own voluminous private papers, it rests on over thirty additional manuscript collections and a thorough consideration of contemporaneous and later published sources. Throughout the study, Hutcheson substantiates his basic interpretations of Maxse as a "paradigm of the Right" who personified "its aggressiveness and vehemence and . . . its demands for positive radical action."(469) The volume is a worthy addition to the growing body of scholarship on Edwardian journalism and politics.

. . . James D. Startt
Valparaiso University

●

EMILE COHL, CARICATURE AND FILM.
By Donald Crafton.
• Princeton University Press
• 1990, 402 pp.
• $67.50, Cloth

EMILE COHL IS one of the least known progenitors of animated film. During his long life, he also was an apprentice jeweler, puzzle designer, caricaturist, comic strip artist, photographer, philatelist, costume designer, and theatrical producer. Donald Crafton, associate professor of communication arts and director of the Wisconsin Center for Film and Theater Research at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, has written a detailed biography of Cohl that affirms his role in the development of animated film. Crafton has also authored *Before Mickey* (MIT Press, 1982), a history of animation.

The dense text of *Emile Cohl* is complex and reads more like three monographs than a single book. The unfolding of Cohl's life as a graphic artist and animator links the first two sections, "The Caricaturiste," and "The Cinematographiste." Detailed descriptions of the cultural and historical setting of Cohl's time occasionally cause the reader to lose sight of the subject of this study. A chronology of Cohl's career would have been helpful. The book's final section, "Toward an 'Incoherent Cinema,'" includes a thought-provoking analysis of the relationship between film and the comic strip in addition to an evaluation of Cohl's place in film history.

Cohl was born Emile Eugene Jean Louis Cortet in Paris in 1857. Drawing was his favorite school activity, but his education was interrupted both by illness and the political and social upheavals of the

Franco-Prussian War, the Siege, and the Commune. In 1878 the young man began working in the studio of the well-known artist, Andre Gill, and at this time he adopted his new name, Cohl. Crafton surmises that this was a pun denoting the boy's intention to stick to Gill, his mentor, like glue ("collie"). Cohl's caricatures were published in several well-respected magazines, and his reputation grew rapidly.

Following Gill's death in 1885, Cohl continued to draw professionally. He was especially active in exploring the possibilities of graphic narrative, and developed six categories of sequential techniques that were precursors of the comic strip: sight gags, pantomimes, prank strips, fantasy strips, bifocal strips, and transformation strips. Cohl was also active with the Incoherents, an intellectual group of nihilists who valued spontaneity. His identification with this perspective profoundly influenced his art.

As indicated previously, Cohl supported himself through a variety of jobs. Crafton describes him as an "underemployed artisan" who had a clear economic motive to work for the Gaumont film studio in 1908. It is his animated film *Fantasmagorie*, released in August 1908, that Crafton cites as earning Cohl the title "Father of the Animated Film."

Cohl worked at the Pathe studio briefly in 1910, and then moved to Eclipse in 1911. Eclair then hired him and sent him to do animation at their New Jersey studio from 1912 to 1914. Cohl returned to France and continued to animate for Eclair until 1922, although production declined during the First World War. Cohl's later life was marked by economic hardship, and he was bitter that his contributions to film history were not appreciated. Cohl died in poverty in 1938 at age eighty-one.

Although Cohl was a prolific animator, few of his films survive due to a fire in the New Jersey Eclipse studio and the ravages of two wars in France. Those that can be viewed today confirm Cohl's contributions to animated film. He used drawing animation, object animation, puppet animation, cutout animation, and "mixed" animation with success. Crafton discusses at length the aesthetics of Cohl's films and his influence on the invention and dissemination of animation technology. Cohl is credited with introducing much of the iconography and gag humor used in early animation, and inventing the "hand-of-the-artist" motif that helped make animation a distinct genre. Crafton notes that Cohl's dry humor and love of the bizarre were less tangible, but equally important, contributions to the medium's early development.

Emile Cohl is meticulously researched and includes exhaustive notes, a filmography, a bibliography, and an index, plus charts and 321 illustrations. Unfortunately, some of the reproductions are muddy and many so tiny that reading them is difficult. In spite of all of the details included in this book—or perhaps because of them—Emile Cohl does not come alive as a person for the reader. This book is a valuable reference source, but its price and complexity will keep it off most book shelves.

. . . *Lucy Shelton Caswell*
Ohio State University

●

COMIC BOOKS AND AMERICA, 1945–1954.
By William Savage.
• University of Oklahoma Press
• 1990, 168 pp.
• $18.95, Cloth

COMIC BOOKS are probably the last popular cultural artifacts that have not been chronicled, dissected, analyzed, and studied from every aspect by students of mass communication. Recent works like this one, however, indicate that soon these colorful books will "arrive" as valid texts.

Comic Books and America is, like many pioneering investigations, primarily a descriptive work. It analyzes how comic book content—particularly dialogue—reflected American middle-class values and culture during the period 1945–54. This was the so-called "golden era" of comic books, which ended

when the comic book industry imposed strict censorship on itself in response to a strong anti-comic crusade that swept the country during the early fifties.

Neither Savage's analysis, nor his conclusions, are particularly surprising, but that is not to say that *Comic Books and America* is not a worthwhile book. To the contrary, it is an extremely charming, informative, and funny work. While some might claim that it lacks the rigorous language that popular culture historians feel obliged to use to justify their writing, the language used in the text is appropriate to the subject—accessible to academic and comic book collector alike (although the two are not always different), entertaining and scholarly at the same time.

Savage begins with a review of the comic books' rise to popularity through the twenties and thirties, then moves to content as he examines "the Bomb," the Red Scare, the Korean War, cowboys, and "society in change" in the comic books. But rather than couch these now-amusing texts in dry analysis, he uses a playful style that helps to communicate the absurdity of both era and context.

The book has its weaknesses, of course—the analysis might have been more thorough, and more discussion might have been devoted to the anti-comic book crusade led by psychiatrist Frederic Wertham, which changed the comic books forever. Savage also asks tantalizingly in his conclusion whether it was not, in fact, television that caused the downfall of the comic books, but has no answer. But as he states at the end of his last chapter, a wistful personal statement about what comic books ultimately meant to his world view, "academics have taken a little too long" in discovering exactly what comic books meant to postwar children and adolescents. His book, he says, describes some of the lessons those books meant to teach, and it is for further investigators to discover the rest.

. . . Linda Adler Kassner
University of Minnesota

●

COMMUNICATION IN HISTORY: TECHNOLOGY, CULTURE, SOCIETY.
By David Crowley and Paul Heyer.
• Longman
• 1991, 352 pp.
• $18.36, Paper

DAVID CROWLEY and Paul Heyer have assembled an impressive collection of previously published work for this reader in the history of communication and its impact on society. Many of the authors are well known in mass communication scholarship—names like Innis, McLuhan, Carey, and Schudson. The editors organized the thirty-two essays chronologically into eight parts, each of which contains essays examining the communications in a period of human history. Each part also contains a simple but effective timeline that helps the reader organize the temporal order of the technologies and events under study.

Taken as a whole, the book provides an overview of communication technologies and their social impact, from the use of ancient ivory carvings and cave paintings through the development of alphabets, the printing press, and the modern media of the information age. Crowley and Heyer take as their premise that the development of communication media shapes societies, and in this collection one sees many threads of communication intricately woven into a larger tapestry of social and cultural experience, from pre-historic times through the present.

But the essays also represent diverse approaches to examining communication and its role in society. Archaeologists and scholars in the classics and area studies bring their approaches along with the anthropologists, sociologists, and historians of various stripes. Thus each essay is an excursion into a specific society's communication from a unique perspective.

Crowley and Heyer loosely frame the collection with a series of overreaching questions that may be applied to all of the essays. Questions such as "How does a new communica-

tion medium . . . come into being?" and "How have social institutions and cultural perceptions been affected by these changes?" address the process of change in communications. This focus on process is the strength of the overall work. The editors also note a common focus for the essay is "what we call a 'media revolution.'" They define the term as changes that "were relatively rapid when compared to the movement of previous history." While a number of the essays do focus on radical shifts in social structure and behavior resulting from changes in communication technologies, the collection also documents wider evolutionary trends in society and technology that occasionally spawn a communications revolution.

Another strength of the collection is that the interdisciplinary analyses of the various authors may be transported to other essays by the reader. For example, Innis's classic analysis of the impact of changing communication technology on the ruling elites of ancient Egypt may be exported to James Burke's exploration of communication patterns in the Middle Ages, or Elizabeth Eisenstein's examination of the printing press's impact on the literate elites of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Thus the collection is intellectually provoking and versatile.

This book will find many uses. For social, cultural, and technological mass media historians it provides a broad base of factual communication history and interdisciplinary and cross-media analyses. The book will no doubt be adopted by many who teach media history and mass communication technology seminars. It is versatile enough even to find use in the ubiquitous "Introduction to Graduate Studies." The real losers to this book may be Kinko's and similar outlets that dot campuses: they no longer will be preparing course packets containing many of these (or similar) essays.

. . . Thomas Volek
University of Kansas

●

NEITHER HEROINE NOR FOOL: ANNA ELLA CARROLL OF MARYLAND.
By Janet L. Coryell.
• Kent State University Press
• 1990, 194 pp.
• $22, Cloth

"IMPORTANT—IF TRUE." That heading, common in newspapers during the Civil War, applies equally well to Janet Coryell's saga of a self-styled heroine of the Civil War.

In the end, the reader is likely to conclude, as the author did, that Anna Ella Carroll was "neither heroine nor fool." Just what she was is never resolved. In her own eyes she was an unsung heroine and, what was worse, an unpaid one.

Her claims were amazing: that she had devised the strategy for invading Tennessee in the spring of 1862 that enabled the Union to win in the western theater, that she was so close to President Lincoln that she could see him on a moment's notice, that she was denied recognition of her greatness solely because she was a woman.

Until the end of her life, in 1894, Carroll laid siege to the War Department, the Congress, and successive presidents in a vain attempt to win compensation for her services. And over the next century the legend of a noble and self-sacrificing woman grew, though as Coryell's research has shown, it rested on a shaky foundation.

Anna Ella Carroll was born on a Maryland plantation and unusually well-educated for a female in the early 1800s. After her father lost his mismanaged plantation, Carroll offered her pen for hire to lobbyists, politicians, and political organizations.

One of her first letter-writing objectives was to obtain a political appointment for her father. Successful at this, she went on to suggest and eventually demand appointments for others, directing her letters to cabinet officers, top officials, even the president. She cajoled and flattered; she played on their vanities and her own supposedly frail femininity—and sometines they did as she asked.

In the early 1850s she set out to promote former President Millard Fillmore as the 1856 candidate of

the newly formed American party. Nicknamed the Know-Nothing party, it was anti-Catholic and anti-immigrant, and Carroll launched a virulent attack on the Roman Catholic Church in her first book, *The Great American Battle.* Fillmore lost the election, but Carroll continued writing for both the Know-Nothings and the Republicans, hoping to fuse the two parties.

When the Republicans nominated Lincoln, Carroll must have despaired; with his election she turned her efforts to saving the Union and supporting the legality of the war in pamphlets and countless letters to the newspapers. That meant supporting Lincoln, though she opposed emancipation, because she believed that the federal government could not legally interfere with the institution. And she didn't hesitate to advise the president of her opinions.

The extent of Carroll's access to Lincoln, as well as the degree of attention he paid her ideas is difficult to ascertain. Coryell's extensive research turned up just one letter to Carroll from the president. She apparently met with him at least once; however, footnotes indicate that she implied more contacts than probably took place.

That anyone took her seriously as a military strategist is hard to understand. Her Tennessee invasion plan involved transferring Union troops from the heavily fortified Mississippi River to the Tennessee and perhaps the Cumberland rivers. The Tennessee roughly parallels the Mississippi through the state of Tennessee, but then turns east across northern Alabama. Supposedly Lincoln embraced her plan with enthusiasm and issued orders that put it into motion. In fact, General Grant's gunboats were already on the Tennessee, and his army held Paducah and Smithland, at the mouths of the two rivers. Then action stalled, and the Confederate forts on the rivers were not taken until February 1862. The time lag convinced Carroll that it was her plan that had launched the Union invasion.

For the remainder of the war she continued writing, politicking, and suggesting military strategy to the War Department. At the same time, she pressed her claim for compensation, which climbed from $5,000 to $250,000. Surprisingly, men like Assistant Secretary of War Thomas Scott and Senator Benjamin Wade, chairman of the Committee on the Conduct of the War, supported her claim. And in later years her cause was taken up by suffragists, who saw her as a woman denied recognition because of her sex.

Carroll left behind enough of a record so that Civil War researchers have had to consider it, and the aura of a much-maligned, forgotten heroine of American history is what attracted Coryell, now an assistant professor of history at Auburn University. The book began as her doctoral dissertation, and reads like one. Certainly it is thoroughly researched (there are 338 footnotes for 124 pages of text). And it should dispel the unsung heroine legend, though the real Anna Ella Carroll must have been a remarkable woman.

. . . Patricia Muller
University of Wisconsin
La Crosse

●

DEEDS DONE IN WORDS: PRESIDENTIAL RHETORIC AND THE GENRES OF GOVERNANCE.
By Karlyn Kohrs Campbell and Kathleen Hall Jamieson.
• University of Chicago Press
• 1990, 288 pp.
• $27.50, Cloth

IT WOULD BE difficult to imagine a task more likely to produce shudders from a reader than the prospect of analyzing the rhetoric sent forth from the White House during the last two centuries. The sheer volume of verbiage flowing from the president during even one month is sufficiently voluminous to glaze one's eyes. But in this book, Karlyn Kohrs Campbell and Kathleen Hall Jamieson have succeeded in making manageable such an intimidating mission.

This volume represents the first comprehensive attempt to examine and to compare two centuries of presidential speeches.

Campbell, a speech communication professor at the University of Minnesota, and Jamieson, dean of the Annenberg School of Communications at the University of Pennsylvania, prove equal to the challenge.

They systematically compare the speeches that every president from George Washington to Ronald Reagan has used to shape the institution of the presidency. They simplify the process first by dividing two hundred years of presidential rhetoric into nine categories, including inaugural addresses, State of the Union addresses, veto messages, declarations of war, impeachment statements, presidential pardons, and farewell addresses. During the introduction to each category/chapter, Campbell and Jamieson clearly describe the functions that they have identified as unique to each type of rhetoric. The chapter on inaugural speeches, for example, describes five goals that presidents hope to accomplish in such addresses: unifying the people, restating communal values from the past, articulating the political principles of the new administration, acknowledging an intention to adhere to the requirements and limitations of the executive branch, and renewing the covenant between the chief executive and the people.

With the functions of each category defined, the authors proceed to identify which presidents, through the content or style of their oratory, have advanced or retarded the evolution of that particular category of rhetoric.

The authors begin with the premise that rhetoric is more than personal or political puffery. Instead, they insist that words coming from the president's mouth help fundamentally constitute the presidency. The authors' own clear prose style, systematic organization, and solid argumentation are persuasive.

The biggest problem with the book is the parameter set in the first chapter when Campbell and Jamieson dismiss from examination idiosyncrasies of individual presidents and political/societal circumstances extant at the time a speech was presented. The institution of the presidency is a fluid one, largely defined by the person residing in the White House at any certain time. How can one discount the differences between, say, a Thomas Jefferson and a Warren G. Harding? Likewise, the president is a politician and a national leader whose every utterance takes into account the climate of the day. So how can one discount, for example, the fact that virtually all of Abraham Lincoln's addresses were presented during moments of national crisis unique in American history?

An additional problem is that some categories, such as State of the Union addresses, provide the authors with more material to work with than do others, such as pardoning rhetoric. One other problem is that the authors pay little attention to the evolution of professional speech writers and the White House publicity machine, which certainly have affected presidential rhetoric.

Readers also may find it distracting that Campbell and Jamieson attempt to raise the consciousness of readers to the oppression of women by inserting the term *sic* after each quotation in which a president refers to "he" or "man" or "mankind." A quotation from Jefferson, for example, reads: "Sometimes it is said that man [sic] cannot be trusted with government of himself." Readers will encounter *sic* dozens of times in this book. A preferred option may have been for the authors to have made their point once in the introduction.

. . . Rodger Streitmatter
American University

●

DARWINISM AND THE PRESS: THE EVOLUTION OF AN IDEA.
By Edward Caudill.
• Lawrence Erlbaum
• 1989, 161 pp.
• $24.95, Cloth

THIS IS A book about ideas and how they are transmitted in the media. Focusing on Charles Darwin's theory of evolution, Edward Caudill shows how new ideas are

often misunderstood, oversimplified, altered, or even dismissed, first, through the media's close link to status quo conventional "wisdom," and second, through the general operation of the news process itself.

The story of Darwin and his work is fascinating, and Caudill has done full justice both to the genius of Darwin and to his idiosyncratic life. Darwin was a recluse and probably an acute hypochondriac. And he was such a plodder that he clearly would have failed to obtain tenure at a twentieth-century U.S. university; he spent fourteen years producing his first major work, *The Origin of Species*. But that work, as Caudill notes, was stunning in its challenge to established patterns of research and thinking about the world. In this book, the author traces the initial reaction to Darwin in United States magazines and newspapers, the general media discussion of Darwinism in the late nineteenth century, coverage of the 1925 Scopes trial, and more recent arguments over "creation science," and, in summary, provides an overview of ideas and news.

Many of Darwin's critics differed fundamentally with his approach to science. To them, God was the center of science, and Darwin's essentially observation-based, non-theological work was indeed disturbing. Caudill writes, "In much of the initial reaction to *The Origin*, God was the Question: How could this theory be reconciled with scripture?" Well, it could not be reconciled easily, and so many critics (including magazine and newspaper writers) excoriated Darwin for his godlessness. Darwin's ideas did not fit into the established framework of scientific debate or discussion of that age, so few (in the learned circles, media, or society in general) were capable of understanding.

Ironically, those who welcomed Darwin's ideas often fit them into their preconceived notions as well. E. L. Godkin, editor of the *Nation*, found that a social Darwinism based upon survival of the fittest provided scientific support for an essentially elitist view of society. Darwin's ideas also fit neatly into the racism of nineteenth-century America: "Eugenicists used Darwin as a springboard for their theories of heredity and race inferiority."

The greatest strength of the book comes in two particular areas: the discussion of the Scopes trial in 1925 and in the final chapter on news and ideas. Both chapters point out barriers to the transmission of ideas caused by the news process itself. Caudill argues that Clarence Darrow (who defended the general outlines of Darwin's ideas in the Scopes trial) fared better in the press than his opponent, William Jennings Bryan, because the kind of arguments Darwin made (supposedly based on dispassionate *facts*) were easier to present than Bryan's declaration of faith. Caudill argues that the press had developed a "structural framework" (which he also calls "the institutional bias of the press") that "defined news as reportable fact." As such, "Bryan's philosophical argument was doomed before the trial began."

This discussion on the news process is extended in the last chapter, on "Darwinism, the Press and Ideas," as the author notes the difficulty of discussing *ideas* in a press that is fact-based, event-oriented, or preoccupied with the "local angle" on a story. Ideas have "no clear boundaries," making them difficult to explain succinctly or simply, and they seldom are local in nature. The difficulty is one of structural constraints. "A scientific theory or any other abstract concept is not the type of story a news organization is prepared to cover in its routine."

The work would benefit from further definition, evidence, and analysis of the institutional bias of the press (which is one of the more intriguing but less developed parts of the book) and greater *constant* attention to issues of *press* operation (rather than more on Darwinism and related ideas). But none of these criticisms is offered to call into question the genuine high quality of this work. An ideal research project is one that, first, explores a specific

subject thoroughly and intelligently and, second, connects that subject to broader issues and ideas. Clearly this book accomplishes both those goals; moreover, it does so in an interesting fashion.

. . . Gerald J. Baldasty
University of Washington

●

HOLLYWOOD GOES TO WAR: HOW POLITICS, PROFITS, AND PROPAGANDA SHAPED WORLD WAR II MOVIES.
By Clayton R. Koppes and Gregory D. Black.
• University of California Press
• 1990, 384 pp.
• $12.95, Paper

ONE FACTOR THAT is a part of modern wars is propaganda. Clayton Koppes and Gregory Black conclude that Hollywood and the United States government tried, sometimes successfully, to use films to further the effort in World War II. Problems came when the two groups had differing visions about what movies should be doing.

According to Koppes and Black, movie-makers saw many opportunities as war came to America. Wars have always provided good plots, and Hollywood proved eager to portray war. For most producers, however, the bottom line was the most important factor in making a film. As a result, they preferred movies that emphasized the fighting or a love interest because those stories appealed to the largest audience.

Government officials, on the other hand, believed strongly in the ability of films to influence public opinion. The major agency involved in Hollywood movie-making, the Office of War Information, diligently sought to shape the content of films in an effort to increase public support for the war. In 1942, OWI produced a manual of suggestions for the motion picture industry. The manual indicated that wartime pictures should be useful to the war effort, and true. In operation, however, usefulness often outweighed truthfulness. OWI always proved willing to play games with the truth if doing so presented a united war effort.

OWI officials insisted that films portray integrated military units when none existed in American forces. They wanted labor unrest played down even though some occurred during the war. And, most confusing of all, OWI pushed for portrayal of all the allies as freedom-loving democracies, even though Stalin's Russia, Chiang Kai-shek's China, and others could not possibly fit the mold. Truth suffered in the effort to win the war.

Koppes and Black show that Hollywood movie-makers and OWI officials sought to work together to please everyone and produce films that furthered the war effort and also made a profit. OWI's major tool for encouraging Hollywood cooperation was control over export licenses. Exporting a film generally insured large profits, so producers sought to cooperate as much as possible.

The desire to cooperate, however, did not always produce good results. OWI officials wanted movies to deal with subtle themes that filmmakers considered difficult to portray on screen. For example, OWI encouraged the use of a variety of perspectives on the enemy, but movie-makers tended to use stereotypes, particularly when portraying the Japanese. Government officials often saw many shades of gray in international concerns. Hollywood, hoping to increase dramatic effects, portrayed most issues in black and white.

Even with problems and disagreements, Koppes and Black conclude, Hollywood followed the dictates of the Office of War Information. During the war years, OWI reviewed 1,652 scripts. The office suggested changes in most of those cases, and producers honored those proposals. According to Koppes and Black, "OWI in Hollywood represents the most comprehensive and sustained government attempt to change the content of a mass medium in American history" because they "not only told Hollywood what should be excluded but what should, in fact, be included."(324) As a result, Hollywood, with OWI

support, produced a false image for wartime America that had many painful repercussions during the Cold War of the 1950s.

Hollywood Goes to War is an interesting survey of World War II movies. It reviews the themes in those films and discusses a number of movies in detail to show the interaction of Hollywood and the Office of War Information. It is a useful book for anyone interested either in World War II or the use of propaganda.

. . . Carol Sue Humphrey
Oklahoma Baptist University

●

POLAND'S JOURNALISTS: PROFESSIONALISM AND POLITICS.
By Jane Leftwich Curry.
• Cambridge University Press
• 1990, 304 pp.
• $59.50, Cloth

FEW COUNTRIES HAVE attracted as much attention as Poland has during the past decade. The birth of the first independent workers' union in the communist bloc, the martial law that followed it, coupled with the more recent democratization—including new elections, the demise of the Communist party and the end of censorship—have all put Poland on the lips of politicians and journalists alike the world over. Consequently, the publication of Curry's book is not only timely but crucial in helping us to understand the key contribution that Polish journalists have made in bringing about those changes.

Curry's book is a stunning chronicle of the forty years of political and ethical struggle in which most Polish journalists were involved (although unspecified in the title, the period covered is 1945 to 1982, with some references to the post-martial law years). The political side of the struggle was obviously related to the fight against party control over media content, personnel, and operational decisions; the ethical aspect of the conflict consisted of journalists' almost continual balancing act between being forced to make politically motivated professional compromises and deflecting inevitable—and all too costly—loss of prestige among readers or peers.

Curry's book is a well-researched study on political aspects of Polish post-World War II journalism. She conducted over two hundred interviews with Polish journalists in 1975–76 and used somewhat smaller samples in two other surveys in 1979 and 1983. In addition, she has made extensive use of various Polish underground books and journals, the majority of which are not available in English. Moreover, she had access to internal documents of press research institutes in Poland. All this contributes to the high caliber of Curry's research and the accuracy of her findings. Readers seeking to learn more about the reasons for the party control over the media, the ways in which this control was executed over the years and how Polish journalists accommodated or resisted it, will find this publication invaluable. Indeed, the descriptions of the individual actions of journalists and their association vis-a-vis the government constitute the strongest sections of the book.

Despite its undeniable depth and strength, *Poland's Journalists* invites some criticism. Viewed against other communist media systems, the Polish case is a special one, marked by journalistic recalcitrance and greater freedom. Curry claims that relative independence of Polish journalists, as well as their ability to maintain and protect themselves, stems not so much from more liberal governmental policies but from journalists' professionalization. She is only partially correct. Indeed, the high level of professionalism was one of the key factors in preserving some freedom among journalists. However, the phenomenon of the extremely politicized and surprisingly, though by no means fully, independent Polish journalism needs to be viewed in its historical context, which Curry seems to neglect.

Poland is a country with traditions of independence, and related to it, resistance against foreign occupiers that goes back to the eighteenth century. The more recent experience of World

War II and the struggle against the Nazis, which resulted in the formation of an elaborate Polish underground resistance (with its one thousand underground publications), combined with the forty-year struggle against the alien Communist rule, only helped to solidify this idea. Recognizing and measuring the influence of tradition is bound to pose problems for Western researchers, but it should not be neglected.

Similarly, jounalism in Poland cannot be analyzed in a socio-professional vacuum, which appears to be the case in some sections of this book. For instance, the philosophies of Polish professionalism, as well as selected practices, have been to some extent influenced by Polish journalism practiced outside of Poland, in particular by Polish language broadcasts of Radio Free Europe and Polish emigre journals such as *Parisian Kultura* or *Aneks* with primary contributions from journalists living in Poland. Curry fails to recognize the significance of these sources.

Those who hope to learn more about the uniqueness and importance of the Polish Catholic press will not find satisfying answers in this book. The author incorrectly diminishes, or at least underestimates, the role and atypicality of the Catholic press. Likewise, she does not emphasize enough the diversity of this press in terms of its ties with the party. For instance, while PAX group was for all practical purposes collaborating with the party, ZNAK publishers managed to remain in measured opposition to it.

Finally, also missing in Curry's book is at least a brief analysis of the Polish alternative/underground press, which was instrumental in bringing about the recent political changes.

Nonetheless, for educators in journalism, both in international mass communication and general courses on politics and mass media, *Poland's Journalists*, despite its shortcomings will prove to be a good source of information and well-documented insight on professionalism in Poland under the Communist regime. Undoubtedly, large portions of this book will find their way into required readings for many journalism courses throughout the country.

. . . *Peter Przytula*
University of Minnesota

●

FILM AND THE WORKING CLASS: THE FEATURE FILM IN BRITISH AND AMERICAN SOCIETY.
By Peter Stead.
• Routledge, Chapman and Hall
• 1990, 320 pp.
• $47.50, Cloth

THE TWO MOST important criteria for any history are credibility and utility. More specifically, does the author demonstrate mastery of the available sources and does the resulting work reconstruct the past in a meaningful way? This does not imply that the reader, for example, must necessarily agree with the author's analysis or conclusions. Rather, one must have confidence in the integrity of the scholarship. This is particularly true in film history, because so much is no more than a rehash of secondary sources, written without reference to the vast and important trade literature of the motion picture industry.

Fortunately *Film and the Working Class* is a work of integrity. Peter Stead, a senior lecturer in history at University College of Swansea in Britain, draws extensively on material from the contemporary press, trade media, film theory and criticism, and other data to make a meaningful contribution to the literature of British and American popular culture. While not definitive, his book helps bridge a major gap in film studies by bringing together research from social and labor history to complement important works such as Garth Jowett's *Film: The Democratic Art* (Little, Brown, 1976), Larry May's *Screening Out the Past* (Oxford University Press, 1980), as well as several recent studies on left-progressive organizations such as the Film and Photo League.

Despite the controversial and easily polemicized nature of the subject, Stead brings a thoughtful, inter-

estingly written, and ultimately balanced (neither Marxist nor capitalist) perspective to reporting the way in which British and American moviemakers depicted working people. He takes us chronologically from the birth of the movies in the 1890s through contemporary television and film characterizations such as the *Rocky* myth to analyze those films specifically concerned with working-class conditions and struggle. As major studios and longer pictures came to dominate the medium and a continuing debate emerges over the social significance of movies, the context in which films were produced takes on importance. Much of the battle involved questions of "respectability" that eventually led to regulation and set the political tone for most theatrical productions.

Despite the social distinctiveness of Britain and the U.S., both were dominated demographically by those with labor and lower-middle-class lifestyles. Working people were attracted to the cinema for numerous reasons—the low admission cost, ready availability in neighborhood theaters, plus good storytelling via emotionally as well as physically moving visual images and accompanying musical effects that cut across language and cultural differences. The trade publication *Bioscope* summed up the appeal nicely in 1909: "No travel, no expense, every comfort and a splendid program is the motto of electric theatres." The sheer numbers of such people made possible an audience whose members enjoyed the screen images presented them and collectively raised expectations that ended up reshaping both societies.

Particulary interesting is Stead's juxtaposition of a more authentic working-class image during the pre-1920 cinema, when moviemakers shot on the streets and were more closely in touch with the hard lives of their audiences, to the fictional world of the "Hollywood" studio era "that fairly closely corresponded to what was though[t] of as reality and yet one that could essentially bypass the major political and economic questions of the day." By recruiting actors who could cut themselves off from many aspects of everyday life and yet still be accepted as real people, the moguls successfully negotiated the minefield of class. Indeed, films have helped to increase social mobility by creating numerous examples of heroes emerging from "lowly" origins and financial hardship.

Stead includes a useful listing of illustrations, endnote references, and name/film title indexes. However, the failure to incorporate statistical charts or a subject index is a weakness. More substantively, while he uses the popular press, the author does not take the next step and thoroughly compare film portrayals of the working class and labor unions to those found in news accounts and novels. Obviously film is the major focus of the work, but such a comparison would have more solidly anchored the study.

One may or may not agree with Stead's claim that "the 1930s was the most crucial period in the whole history of cinema in Britain and America."(46) A good case can be made for the 1910s or 1920s. Also questionable is his assertion that "An inescapable fact of the Hollywood-dominated silent cinema of the period between the First World War and the early years of sound is that it was largely ignored not only by all intellectuals and vast sections of the middle class but also by those sections of the working class who associated social stature and social improvement either with the religious dominations or with an active role in trade unions, political parties, or adult education classes. For the schoolteacher, the minister of religion, the conductor of the choir, and the trade union secretary the movies were an irrelevance except inasmuch as they actually weakened minds and stunted personalities by deflecting them from worthwhile considerations."(235) This ignores the rather extensive continued production and exhibition of educational shorts and features by the studios and smaller inde-

pendent companies catering to the "sponsored film," church, school, and labor-hall markets outside of the theater-based distribution channels.

The book is targeted to academic libraries, specialists, and those interested in popular culture.

. . . Richard Alan Nelson
Kansas State University

●

TELEVISION ACCESS AND POLITICAL POWER.
By Joe S. Foote.
• Praeger
• 1990, 240 pp.
• $42.95, Cloth

U.S. PRESIDENTS could beckon radio in the 1930s and television in the 1960s and 1970s, and the networks would come running. The opposition party, though, got only the crumbs that the electronic media were willing to throw from the table.

Joe S. Foote, the author of this study, has viewed this matter up close; he was press secretary in the early 1970s for Speaker of the House Carl Albert. He has done further research since becoming chairman and associate professor of radio/television at Southern Illinois University at Carbondale.

Foote effectively chronicles network policies for the past six decades and notes that fairness often has been sadly lacking. While a president in past years usually has had only to ask for network time for an address to the nation, the opposition often has had to plead for time to make its case. With the incumbent party so favored, is there a proper marketplace of ideas? The answer, of course, is no.

The author attributes Roosevelt's success in getting on radio to the dearth of other programs equal to the prestige of the presidency. The same was true of television, for instance, in the Kennedy years. What may surprise those who knew Nixon's dislike of the media is the fact that television networks never denied access when that president often wanted to address the nation.

On the other hand, networks have never had a consistent policy for making sure the opposition is heard. If representatives from the oppostion are given anything at all, it likely is not at a time or in the format of their choosing.

By the 1980s, even a president was not always successful in getting access to television networks whenever he chose, because of intense network competition and the advent of cable. Cable also opens up new opportunites for the opposition. That 1980 was a watershed cannot be denied.

While Foote's tedious recitation of how each president has fared and how the opposition has been treated (or mistreated) can get tiresome, the options he discusses in the chapter entitled "A New Political Communication Order" are exciting. On balance, the book is worthwhile reading.

In the words of Newton Minow, who wrote the foreword, it is "A plain-speaking book that may well outrage not only former administration officials and assorted members of Congress and senators, but also television executives, White House correspondents and various other political animals."

. . . Dennie Hall
Central State University
(Oklahoma)

●

POPULAR TRIALS: RHETORIC, MASS MEDIA, AND THE LAW.
Edited by Robert Hariman.
• University of Alabama Press
• 1990, 257 pp.
• $32.95, Cloth

POPULAR TRIALS ARE ideological in nature, argues an essay by Barry Brummett in this interesting, edited book. At the very least, popular trials are "a genre of public discourse," writes Robert Hariman, the editor of this work. Mass media serve to "mediate" between the legal realities of a trial and the public. A trial becomes "popular" only insofar as mass media decide to cover it and present it through manageable visual images, sound bites, and printed summaries to the masses.

Television and, in different ways, print media hide their "mediator" roles. "It is the business of ideology

to hide its nature as ideology," argues Brummett. Visual images and sound bites, for example, are labelled by television stations as "news."

One may argue with this conclusion. The media as "mediator" may be an unfortunate choice of words. "Mediators" are neutral third parties who help parties to a dispute or a war resolve their differences by, among other techniques, reframing the language of a dispute into language leading to conciliation. The argument of this book, however, is that media as "mediators" are not neutral. Perhaps it would be more helpful to refer to the "structural bias" of media, as political scientists do.

Whatever the shortcomings of the rhetoric and theory employed by Hariman and his authors, the specific popular trials analyzed here are well worth reading. I recommend, in particular, the following three essays in the book: Lawrence Bernabo and Celeste Condit's study of the Scopes trial; Susan Drucker and Janice Hunold's study of the Claus Von Bulow retrial—subtitled "Lights, Camera, Genre?"; and Larry Williamson's study of the legal tribulations of Roger Hedgecock, ex-mayor of San Diego.

These essays go far beyond the observation that mass media are structurally biased, a term defined by political scientists as the biases arising from the circumstances of news production. The authors demonstrate in convincing detail the ways in which the legal realities of a popular trial are transformed or "reframed" by media into resonant images and language.

The images and language that result from this media transformation should be understood as a new reality worth studying and analyzing on its own terms, rather than as a simple distortion to be avoided at all costs. The more specifically a "popular trial" is studied, the better we may be able to understand the ways in which consumers currently comprehend law. The essays in this book, in other words, are not only useful for students of media and rhetoric, but also for students of law.

. . . Richard Scheidenhelm
Boulder, Colorado

●

HENRY GRADY'S NEW SOUTH: ATLANTA, A BRAVE AND BEAUTIFUL CITY.
By Harold E. Davis.
• University of Alabama Press
• 1990, 254 pp.
• $34.95, Cloth

THE NEW SOUTH, as envisioned by Henry W. Grady and promoted by his newspaper, the *Atlanta Constitution*, in the late 1870s and 1880s was focused more on Atlanta than on improvement of the South in general. This well-documented work represents a departure from the standard biography, for it presents evidence that alters the long-held popular historical perception of Grady as the personification of the New South movement to bring industrialization, improved agriculture, and opportunity and justice for blacks throughout the entire South.

Davis's study is limited primarily to one decade, the 1880s, when Grady was most active and influential. It is a work about Grady, his immediate associates, and their accomplishments for Georgia under the aegis of the New South movement. A part of the title, *Atlanta, A Brave and Beautiful City*, indicates the author's view of Grady's espousal of the New South movement. At the height of his power, Grady proclaimed that Atlanta was his "first and only love," and it was for Atlanta that he used most of his "instincts, intelligence, energy and time."

Less than a quarter of the book is devoted to Grady's journalistic career, which climaxed when he became part owner and managing editor of the *Atlanta Constitution*, helping the new paper to grow through his personal, professional, and organizational skills. The remainder of the book shows how Grady used his position on the widely circulated Atlanta paper to become an influential political leader in Georgia; a principal in

the Atlanta Ring, a powerful political group that put three of its members in the governor's office; and a promoter of Atlanta as a center for state government, railroad transportation, industry, agriculture, and trade. The principles, which Grady enunciated for the development of the South as a whole, he and the *Atlanta Constitution* promoted primarily for the advancement of Atlanta, leaving the rest of Georgia and the South to scramble for whatever advantages and improvements they could pull away from the new Georgia capital.

Grady was not a good businessman, and he was not reluctant to spend money lavishly for such things as hiring special train cars to carry him to cover the major stories or promote special events. However, he was an excellent newsman, distinguishing himself for his interviewing technique of reporting. His strength lay in his coverage of politics and his acquaintance with business and political leaders. He spent as much time winning political influence as he did performing his newspaper duties.

His oratory and his position as managing editor of the *Atlanta Constitution* gave him opportunities to promote the New South movement to a variety of audiences in Georgia, New York, and Boston. A collection of these speeches, especially his address entitled "The New South," and some of his writings, published shortly after his death at age thirty-nine, did much to enhance his popular image as a champion of the South. Davis points out that the New South movement was a phenomenon of its own, and that the Grady story fit neatly into it.

Grady is depicted as a man of high energy, sharp mind, and "moral audacity," with a willingness to try the unexpected. Using his personal charm, persuasive ability, and social and political conections, he usually accomplished his objectives. But he made his objectives local and limited, therefore winnable: electing a candidate, sponsoring an event like Chautauqua, or bringing about a civic improvement for Atlanta. It was in the "New South" speech in New York in 1886 that he brought all of his personal and oratorical skills into play to convince important national leaders that the South really did accept the outcome of the Civil War and wished to be friends.

However, what Grady said about the New South never matched what he did. Beyond writing articles and making speeches, he did little. His committed work went into applying the New South elements—farm policy, race, industrialization, and reconciliation—to help one city, Atlanta. In his study of the period, Davis concludes that, except for occasional investment for profit, there is no sign that Grady ever helped or formulated any definite plan to develop the South as a whole or any city other than his own.

. . . *Elsie Hebert*
Louisiana State University

●

REMOTE CONTROL: TELEVISION, AUDIENCES, AND CULTURAL POWER.
Edited by Ellen Seiter, Hans Borchers, Gabriele Kreutzner, and Eva-Maria Warth.
• Routledge
• 1989, 336 pp.
• $47.50, Cloth

THIS VOLUME collects twelve essays originally presented as papers at a symposium, "Rethinking the Audience: New Tendencies in Television Research," held at the University of Tubingen in Germany. Additionally, it includes an introduction that sketches out the basic issues discused by the various essays.

Several words or phrases could be used to categorize those various essays. The most prominent keywords include *soap operas, feminism, texts, semiotics, audiences, psychoanalysis,* and *Marxism*. Few essays use all these concepts to examine television, but these terms do express what a reader can expect of the book as a whole.

One concept that does not adequately characterize the essays is *remote control,* ironically the book's title. The introduction explains that the title has a double meaning. First, it refers to the fact that "television controls us at a dis-

tance." Second, it "symbolizes the viewers' selection, control, and manipulation of television broadcasts." The difficulty, however, is that these two meanings contradict one another, and that the book, as a whole, essentially denies the notion that people are controlled by television. Rather, the essays' collective argument is that viewers are active and crucial to determining the meaning of television content, not passive and "controlled." The essays of both David Morley and Dorothy Hobson specifically address the assumptions that undergird the myth of "television zombies" or "passive" viewers.

The value of this book is twofold. First, its authors look at U.S. television programs, and particularly soap operas, from the outside. Communications research is replete with examples of American scholars examining the media of other countries, but there are few examples of non-Americans examining U.S. media. This book is thus a useful exercise in seeing ourselves as others see us. Second, most of the essays are more accessible (i.e., readable and genuinely useful) to scholars from empirical, historical, or U.S. cultural studies traditions than much of the work that has been published from the semiotic tradition. The book thus enriches television scholarship in the United States.

Unfortunately, some of the essays are still written for "insiders." As with any scholarly tradition, semiotics has its own jargon. Some authors in the volume still use insider language that cripples their ability to speak to (and enrich) a wider audience. Readers unfamiliar with such work will probably cringe (or despair) in confronting John Fiske's essay the first time, although the essay itself offers valuable insights into the relationship between text and audience; others will want to know more than what is revealed by various criticisms of Tania Modleski's work that assume everyone has read it. Readers who have not seen British soap operas will find Dorothy Hobson's essay difficult.

Larry Gross's essay is notable as an insider's look at the portrayal of sexual minorities by U.S. television programs; John Tulloch's, too, for its exploration of the response of the elderly to television. The first six essays in the book hang together well. Beginning with Gross's essay, however, the thread that connects the perspectives begins to unravel. Several essays have characteristics that make them more idiosyncratic than the more "global" essays of the first half of the book. These characteristics limit the usefulness of the essays for teaching or subsequent research. Besides Gross's and Tulloch's contributions, the essay by Tamar Liebes and Elihu Katz does not tell the reader enough. It uses too many semiotic terms without explaining them, does not report the results of its cross-cultural research with adequate specificity, and seems to leap from design to conclusion without adequate evidence to allow the reader to judge the adequacy of the claims. Dorothy Hobson's research design, too, seems thin, and Jan-Uwe Rogge's discussion too short (and thus elementary) for the biographical/ethnographic approach taken.

Generally speaking, the book is a valuable exploration of television, particularly for those who would see it from a non-traditional point of view. That is, the perspectives of gays, the elderly, and feminists are well-represented here. It is valuable, too, as a volume exploring the relationships of audiences to television texts. Beyond the difficulties already mentioned, however, some readers may be unhappy that little attention is paid to the production process, and the role of various artistic communities (scriptwriters, directors, producers, et al.) in television text development, particularly in their assumptions about the audience that become represented by the texts, or in the actual audience's interpretation of these assumptive texts. The essays imply that there is merely text and audience, but not "assuming" people producing texts. Finally, readers may wonder why the authors make so much out of the stimulus-response (empirical) model of communica-

tion as a whipping boy to justify their approach, since the dominance of this model (and particularly its simplistic one-step flow approach) has long since faded significantly, even in U.S. research. Often the authors do protest too much.

. . . Robert S. Fortner
Calvin College

●

MAKERS OF THE MEDIA MIND: JOURNALISM EDUCATORS AND THEIR IDEAS.
Edited by Wm. David Sloan.
• Lawrence Erlbaum
• 1990, 376 pp.
• $49.95, Cloth; $29.95, Paper

THIS BOOK IS described in its preface as a collection of analytical essays on the principle ideas of the leading journalism educators over the last eighty years.

The book divides the field into six areas of specialization: practical skills, history, philosophy, law, theory, and methodology. The areas are represented by thirty-eight educators chosen for "the importance and originality of the contribution an individual has made to the intellectual vitality of the field." The essays were written by James G. Stovall, Wm. David Sloan, Gary L. and Lynne K. Whitby, Charles Marler, James W. Tankard, Jr., and Donald R. Avery. The collection was edited by Sloan.

The "Media Mind" of the title is a bit of ploy. The influence of journalism education in shaping the outlook of the media is assumed to be largely indirect, the impact of training thousands of practitioners over the years. The thesis, of course, is reversible. One might assert that the mentality of journalism education, at least historically, was made substantially by the media.

Nor does the book actually cover eighty years of journalism education. It excludes the impact of careers begun in the last two decades. A potential criticism stemming from this omission is anticipated and addressed in the preface. With the exception of Clarice Olien, there are no women educators featured in the survey of influential scholars. Sloan writes collectively for the authors: "Although [women] now make up a growing segment of the field, their entry into it has been recent, and time has not allowed their contributions yet to join the handful of truly exceptional ones."

Some readers will ponder the question of who gets to decide. The book amounts to a historical pantheon of journalism educators rather than a full study of an intellectual landscape. Some of the selections are hardly self-evident, if generally familiar at all outside a historical context. Nearly all the chosen scholars are deceased, retired, or near retirement. "Youth is the enemy of fame," Sloan laments.

No doubt he means to assert that history is the final arbiter of fame's survival. Such judgment ultimately is a matter of critical as well as political interpretation. Fame and influence are current and lively affairs of attitude, in all cases concerned with the present.

Two excellent chapters are Marler's on legal scholarship and Tankard's on the classic theorists. Sloan remains characteristically shy in expressing admiration for journalism's historians.

Some of the research for this project involved personal interviews with selectees and their former students. This effort, as well as some of the critical assessment, earns the book a close examination.

. . . Douglas Birkhead
University of Utah

●

THE AMERICAN RADIO INDUSTRY AND ITS LATIN AMERICAN ACTIVITIES, 1900–1939.
By James Schwoch.
• University of Illinois Press
• 1990, 176 pp.
• $29.95, Cloth

JAMES SCHWOCH presents a work on a relatively ignored aspect of radio history: that of the radio industry's interest in and pursuit of the lucrative markets found in Latin America. Schwoch discusses the growth of American influence in Latin American radio in terms of political, techno-

logical, economic, social, and cultural conditions of the region. He argues that radio's global development was more a natural extension of the centuries-old world system of capitalism than a result of the United States's desire for world power.

U.S. involvement with radio communication in Latin America began innocuously enough when American corporations working in those areas built radio stations for point-to-point communication with their remote facilities. The tropical climate proved troublesome for transmission and reception, but technological advancements eventually improved the signal quality.

Around the turn of the century, as the United States became a world power, public and private policymakers saw how radio communication could aid international expansion of American influence. They realized that by pursuing worldwide expansion, the U.S. could gain the upper hand in transatlantic communication, bringing to an end reliance on European-owned undersea telegraphy cables. Since the expansion included Latin America, U.S. radio industry and government representatives urged Latin American countries to allow U.S. corporations to build and operate radio stations in their countries, and to allow importation of U.S.-made equipment.

After World War I, when U.S. radio had proved itself reliable, durable, and competitive with European systems, American industry and government sought to advance their ideas of commercially run (vs. government-run) radio. Following a decade-long series of international communication policy conferences, in which U.S. government and corporate representatives argued the merits of commercial systems, the U.S. version won support in the Western Hemisphere and radio mushroomed in Latin America. Entertainment broadcasting, patterned after the American systems, flourished in many Latin American countries.

Schwoch melds traditional historical views of change as a struggle of nation-states with views of change as a result of the tradition of capitalism in the world system. He ends with a short discussion of the resemblance between the global dissemination of American consumer culture via radio in the early 1900s and the dissemination via video in the late 1900s, noting the progress and problems that dissemination has caused in Third World countries.

Schwoch's interpretation is amply supported through extensive use of primary sources. The archival and manuscript collections he used included personal, governmental, and corporate papers. His writing style is uncluttered, and he clearly outlines his theory and points. The book is very readable, despite a few copy editing problems. It will be valuable not only to those interested in the history of radio and broadcasting, but also to those interested in the forces behind the expansion of U.S. culture in Latin America.

. . . *Jana L. Hyde*
University of Alabama

●

PRESIDENTIAL PRESS CONFERENCES: A CRITICAL APPROACH.
By Carolyn Smith.
• Praeger
• 1990, 288 pp.
• $45, Cloth; $16.95, Paper

WHEN THEODORE Roosevelt began a series of more or less regular contacts with the press of his day, he surely did not realize the extent to which this relationship would become formalized through succeeding presidencies. *Presidential Press Conferences: A Critical Approach* supplies an account of that formalization, but does much more. Carolyn Smith cogently discusses key conference rhetorical components, in a way that leads to better comprehension of the persuasive functions of the modern presidential press conference.

The author first briefly reviews the heritage of the press conference, beginning with Theodore Roosevelt's carefully manipulated press encounters, by which he consciously managed White

House news. The rest of this part of Smith's discussion shows how the post-1950s presidencies added several critical characteristics that institutionalized an essentially adversarial relationship between the media and presidency. Smith repeatedly underscores this relationship as crucial to the interactions of reporters and the Oval Office. Adversarialism occurs, in no small measure, because the president and the media have different persuasive objectives.

Few will be unconvinced that the relationship is, in fact, adversarial, but little would have been accomplished if this were the author's main thesis. Instead, Smith also considers the press conference's rhetorical characteristics, which are a consequence of adversarialism. She then establishes evaluative criteria for assessing the persuasive tactics actually employed by the presidents and the press during conferences.

In focusing press conference goals, agendas, and conference questions and answers, Smith contributes a unique method for examining the individual and collective impact of press conferences. Here she moves far beyond mere classification of successful vs. unsuccessful conferences, though that is one desirable outcome of her analysis of conference questions and answers. The greater value of her approach is that it might yield deeper understanding of conference dynamics. There is much useful ground for future research here, for Smith illuminates many areas with her critical orientation. A concluding chapter, for example, perceptively applies her analytical strategy at length to a sampling of Reagan's press conferences. Through this discussion the reader feels almost firsthand the atmosphere of the selected conferences, and sees how the author's techniques can be tellingly applied.

Among other things, her process for categorizing conference questions and responses shows where Reagan succeeded with the press, where he did not, and why. Practicing politicians and media managers would profit by reading the entire text, but this portion of the book suggests especially instructive ways of making press conferences more productive. Journalists would find Smith's analysis of reporters' questions just as apt. In fact, this book does much to restore a perspective on the purpose of the press conference as a persuasive event staged by representatives with often differing objectives.

The literature on the presidential press conference is now developing into maturity. Besides the memoirs of the various press secretaries, we have a number of helpful surveys of press conference development over the years, such as Blaire French's *The Presidential Press Conference* (University Press of America, 1982). Now Smith's volume adds important insight into the workings of a fascinating institution. The clearly written text, supported by dozens of examples from the press conferences of recent presidents, would make an excellent choice for courses considering the interplay of the White House and the media, or for anyone interested in modern presidential news management.

. . . *Douglas J. Kocher*
Valparaiso University

●

MUCKRAKING AND OBJECTIVITY: JOURNALISM'S COLLIDING TRADITIONS.
By Robert Miraldi.
• Greenwood
• 1990, 200 pp.
• $39.95, Cloth

MUST ONE GIVE UP one's citizenship—the right to participate in the democratic process and to express opinions about public events—in order to wear the badge of a journalist? This seems to be the unasked, and largely unanswered, question throughout this book.

Even though volumes have been written about the muckrakers and their participation in the reform movements of the twentieth century, Miraldi contends that a study of the development of objectivity, and the role of neutral observers of social events,

has not been included in these volumes.

Looking first at the writings of the magazine journalists at the turn of the century, when journalism was in a transitional period from the political alliance of the nineteenth century to the detached journalism of the twentieth century, Miraldi notes that some writers, such as Lincoln Steffens and Ida Tarbell, did not meet the impartial observer standards as developed since 1900. Other writers, like David Graham Phillips and Upton Sinclair, borrowed heavily from the technique of the novelists in what Miraldi characterizes as "faction," a blend of facts and fiction. Their articles were a mix of actual, objective reporting and the "story-telling" fiction of the novelist that made, as Miraldi suggests, for "pulp-type reading—but strayed from objectivity." These writers did, however, begin using the enterprise technique in reporting and writing that was to become the trademark of the investigative reporter during the next generation of journalists.

Miraldi then shifts to the post-World War II period and the efforts to document the plight of the migrant workers in Edward R. Murrow's "Harvest of Shame" and John Hess's investigation of nursing homes for the *New York Times*. Were the reports objective? Basically, yes.

In the intervening years more stringent interpretation of libel laws, political pressures, corporate ownership of the media, boycotts by business and advertisers, the development of magazine "trusts" that directed editorial policy, and the loss of interest on the part of the reading public for muckraking had increased the pressures on journalists to document everything—to be more objective. There had been too many undocumented allegations made by the muckrakers and a need to sanitize the news—to eliminate the writer's personal values from the story and to use only documented facts.

Miraldi says that objectivity and commercialism might allow for the "telling of a good story" but do not permit the reporter to draw conclusions, make recommendations, or express opinions. Exposure of social problems, Miraldi concludes, is only "part of what the public needs from the press. Solutions are also necessary. A blending of purposeful objectivity and careful but outright subjectivity should be not only allowed by reporters, but encouraged."

This book is a rather brief yet forceful record of the growing demand during the twentieth century for a move away from the activist, reform-oriented muckraker to the observer-neutral objectivity of modern journalism. Miraldi underscores the plight of the investigative reporter who, while probably more knowledgeable than anyone else about social problems, is unable to reach conclusions and propose solutions.

The few hours involved in reading this book are a good investment of time.

... Perry Ashley
University of South Carolina

●

THE NEWS AS MYTH: FACT AND CONTEXT IN JOURNALISM.
By Tom Koch.
• Greenwood
• 1990, 216 pp.
• $39.95, Cloth

DURING A PERIOD of the eighteenth century when reporting on Parliament was illegal, Samuel Johnson used fragments of information brought by doorkeepers to write about political debates so well that politicians as well as the public accepted his stories as essentially accurate. Two centuries later, Janet Cooke used a vast amount of factual material about drug use to create a composite story that first won a Pulitzer prize and then drove a shamed Cooke out of journalism once it became known that the specific individuals in the story were fabricated. In both cases, skill combined with knowledge created writing that evoked a meaningful understanding of the events for readers. In the eighteenth century, however, such writing was acceptable as journalism; by the late twentieth, it was not.

These stories frame the

critically important questions addressed by Tom Koch in *The News as Myth*: How are the facts in news stories determined? What are the unique characteristics of journalism as a narrative form? How do these characteristics affect readers' sense of the truth of news stories, and of the realities journalism depicts?

The bulk of the book addresses these questions by analyzing in detail a series of news stories. Often, text contents are compared with facts garnered from other sources, a concrete approach that could usefully be taken up in the classroom. This technique in Koch's hands, however, does not elucidate answers to his important questions. Difficulties arise from a number of sources.

While he specifically rejects analyses of bias in the news based on "sociological reflection, psychological introspection, economic rationalization, and political posture" in favor of a focus on news as a narrative form, Koch finds it difficult to keep his attention on the text. In a series of self-contradictions, he instead draws continually upon the very sociology and political economy he claims to disdain.

At the same time, Koch ignores most of narrative theory and history. Insisting repeatedly that he is working new ground, he ignores the debate between "new" and "objective" journalism, which has explored narrative aspects of facticity since the 1960s is ignored, as well as studies of the emergence of the norm of objectivity and the growing body of semiotic analyses of journalistic texts. What is offered instead—often in fragmented form within case studies—is a "theoretical system" that includes the 5 Ws, Roland Barthes as the sole representative of semiotics, and a mixture of ideas Koch calls "information theory."

Difficulties in getting a fix on this system are multiplied by editorial and factual problems. In a number of places text is missing, sometimes what must be lines at a time. Key references, when included, are often misspelled (Gaye Tuchman, for example, becomes "Guy"). And there are misstatements: libel laws cannot be reduced to the sole issue of malice; arts reviewers may not get paid much, but they do get paid; and so on.

Koch is correct in noting that journalists too often know little about the subjects they cover, though incorrect in assuming this is an unexamined question within journalism education. As a reporter and consultant trying to produce a scholarly text, he demonstrates how differences in training yield different textual products. The key lesson of this book may be to remind us of the importance of addressing critical questions about the nature of facticity and the sociology of knowledge in a manner that is historically grounded, theoretically sound, and cognizant of the contributions of pertinent streams of literature.

. . . *Sandra Braman*
University of Illinois

●

TUBE OF PLENTY: THE EVOLUTION OF AMERICAN TELEVISION.
By Erik Barnouw.
• Oxford University Press, 2d rev. ed.
• 1990, 624 pp.
• $13.95, Paper

ERIK BARNOUW'S *Tube of Plenty*, released in 1975, updated in 1982, is now available in a newly revised edition—a condensation of much of the material in his monumental three-volume *History of Broadcasting in the United States* (Oxford University Press, 1966–70). Barnouw has added some fifty-five pages in a long concluding section called "Progeny," with a hard look at the plethora of new technology, marketplace economics, mergermania, and deregulation under the Reagan administration. The new edition also updates the important chronology through 1989, and includes a new section, "Questions for a New Millennium."

These fifteen questions would all make important units in courses on media history or mass media in America. The questions range from the inevitability of change in tomorrow's television to a consideration of the "consciousness

industry," to awareness of the consequences of the interconnecting of drama, journalism, and politics, to a look at the consequences of social policy and the effects of television on children, to the persistence of violence on U.S. television.

Tube of Plenty is ideal for undergraduate reading. Students need a sense of history and a place to look for chronology and facts. Barnouw's interpretation does not follow any particular school of thought; he is not given to any new theoretical grounding, although he unflinchingly discusses "worldwide media hegemony" based on advertising's dominance. His is solid libertarian history based on careful reading of primary sources, years of work in the Library of Congress Motion Picture, Broadcast, and Sound Division, and enormous skill in synthesizing huge amounts of material.

In the preface to the new edition, Barnouw stresses "the emergence of television as a dominant factor in American life and in American influence throughout the world." In this edition particularly, Barnouw seems fearful about the potential of the government to subvert freedom of information and the public's right to know. In an ironic twist of the emphasis on Reagan's hands-off deregulation policy regarding the FCC, he says, "A notable exception was network news . . . in this one area the Reagan administration, involved in covert warfare and other secret operations in many parts of the world, was implacably determined to control the view—and did so with extraordinary success for eight years." Barnouw devotes a lot of space to the notion of White House news management. Just the chronology of that issue alone would make an important unit for an undergraduate history class.

. . . Maureen J. Nemecek
Oklahoma State University

●

THE AMERICAN TROJAN HORSE: U.S. TELEVISION CONFRONTS CANADIAN ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL NATIONALISM.
By Barry Berlin.
• Greenwood
• 1990, 128 pp.
• $37.95, Cloth

CANADA AND THE United States have gone to war only twice, once in the Great Lakes corridor between 1812 and 1814 and again between 1971 and 1988. The first involved some bloodshed but the second, a battle of words and pictures, pointed to the polarized positions each country developed toward the role of broadcasting.

Canadian broadcasting policy developed in three separate phases. The 1936 Broadcasting Act prioritized the publicly owned Canadian Broadcasting Corporation as an integrated actor in national cultural objectives while reducing Canada's private broadcasters, both licensed and regulated by the CBC Board of Governors, to second-class citizenry.

The 1958 Broadcasting Act placed regulatory power in the hands of the newly created Board of Broadcast Governors (BBG), which set out to create a more vibrant and healthy private sector. CTV, Canada's first private television network, was licensed in the early sixties along with many new FM radio stations. However, when the private sector openly refused to respect BBG regulations, a revised act passed in 1968 founded the all-encompassing CRTC (Canadian Radio and Television Commission).

CRTC Chairman Pierre Juneau and Vice-Chairman Harry Boyle crafted a decidedly nationalist broadcasting agenda. The Liberal government was willing to surrender the manufacturing sector to the United States but was determined to rescue energy development and broadcasting from U.S. domination. Tough and inflexible Canadian content rules were drafted for Canadian broadcasters. To blunt opposition, the CRTC told Canadian broadcasters it planned to repatriate the millions Canadian advertisers were spending on U.S. border television stations. At this point, Berlin begins his story.

Berlin carefully documents CRTC initiatives beginning with the ill-fated commercial substitution policy of 1971, by which cable operators were to de-

lete some commercials from American programs transmitted on Canadian cable systems. Cable was growing rapidly in Canada because few Canadians could receive reliable signals from U.S. stations. Cable, the great corrector, a point Berlin clearly understands and appreciates, now reaches nine of ten Canadian homes. The policy failed mainly because cable operators were unable to predict the timing and length of commercial inserts they were required to delete.

Berlin's analysis then jumps to 1976, when the Canadian government passed Bill C-58, which removed foreign advertising expenditures from the list of eligible business tax deductions. As Berlin documents, the move was successful. Canadian advertising dollars returned north of the border to the chagrin, but not financial detriment, of American border broadcasters. The controversy ended in 1988 when the Canada-U.S. free trade agreement required Canadian copyright payments for American programming rebroadcast on Canadian cable.

Berlin's story is clear, well-structured and easy to follow. Berlin mounts a massive and convincing array of economic evidence to support his claims. His conclusion that Canadian broadcasting policy and law has been driven by a constant fear of American invasion, thus, the Trojan horse analogy, is accurate. On the other hand, his reference to "cultural" matters is misleading. He pays it only lip service and seldom attempts to frame it in Canadian terms.

Along with its obvious strengths, the text has one glaring omission. Bill C-58 represents only one half of Canadian repatriation policy. Simultaneous substitution is the other and is just as effective. It works like this. When a Canadian television station broadcasts an American program simultaneously with the U.S. station, cable systems transmit the Canadian one exclusively. This amounts to a de facto blackout of U.S. stations. Only Canadian stations are rated during simultaneous substitution, which creates artificially inflated audience figures and thus high advertising rates. All Canadian private stations take advantage of the policy although the CBC broadcasts very few U.S. programs. Advertisers have no choice but to pay.

In spite of this one major deficiency, Berlin has given both American and Canadian audiences a brief but concise understanding of what happens when a state, using broadcasting as an extension of its free-enterprise philosophy, collides with another that uses it as an instrument of public policy. Something has to give, and, as Berlin notes, Canada did not.

. . . *David R. Spencer*
Univ. of Western Ontario

●

DICTIONARY OF LITERARY BIOGRAPHY, VOLUME 91: AMERICAN MAGAZINE JOURNALISTS, 1900–1960. FIRST SERIES.
Edited by Sam G. Riley.
• Gale
• 1990, 416 pp.
• $108, Cloth

SAM RILEY HAS again provided some intriguing snapshots of magazine history that are sure to pique media and magazine historians' curiosity.

This ninety-first volume in Gale's ambitious *Dictionary of Literary Biography* series is the third volume on American magazine journalists. The current volume covers the first six decades of the twentieth century. It is planned as the first of two volumes devoted to American magazine journalists during this period.

Scholars and students who missed the earlier volumes, for which Riley also served as editor, will want to refer to those for biographical sketches on magazine journalists who lived in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Volumes 73 and 79 span the years from 1741 to 1850, and 1850 to 1900, respectively.

Magazine Journalists, 1900–1960, contains profiles of thirty-seven magazine writers, editors, and publishers who have contributed, in the words of the DLB Advisory Board, to the "intellectual commerce" of the nation and who have "in their time and in their way influenced the mind of a people."

Entries are listed alphabetically by the name of the journalist. In each entry, readers will find a clearly written historical biography of the individual's career. Entries also include listings of the journalist's major professional positions, books and other publications authored by the journalist, as well as published letters and biographies and references for additional research. Historians will be particularly interested in each entry's listing of the location of the journalist's private and professional papers.

The book is amply illustrated. Formal and informal photographs of the journalists, their contemporaries, and the periodicals for which major work was produced provide a variety of visual portrayals of the life and times of the journalists.

Riley is to be commended for including biographies of individuals whose names are almost clichés in magazine history as well as individuals whose contributions to the industry and American people remain less well known. Edward Bok of *Ladies' Home Journal*, Conde Nast, Edna Woolman Chase, and Frank Crowninshield from the Conde Nast magazines, and George Horace Lorimer of the *Saturday Evening Post* are so well known to many magazine scholars that they may find little new information in the biographies of these great names. Indeed, this may be a weakness of the book in some readers' view. A strength is the fresh, concise presentation of that information.

These same scholars are sure to be intrigued by the names of lesser known journalists: Robert S. Abbott, Ellery Sedgwick and Charles S. Johnson.

Perhaps more than a few students and scholars who read these entries will be encouraged to dig deeper and to increase the available knowledge about these people and their periodicals.

. . . Marcia R. Prior-Miller
Iowa State University

●

FRANKLIN AND BACHE: ENVISIONING THE ENLIGHTENED REPUBLIC.
By Jeffrey A. Smith.
• Oxford University Press
• 1990, 240 pp.
• $29.95, Cloth

TWO MEN IN the latter part of the eighteenth century contributed as much if not more than any of their contemporaries to the development of republican ideology as the American Revolution gave way to the new republic. Jeffrey Smith in this volume illustrates how the era's radical republican principles were embodied in and promulgated through the philosophies of Benjamin Franklin, who was, like George Washington, a "full-fledged American icon of the revolutionary era," and his grandson, Benjamin Franklin Bache, editor of the primary opposition newspaper in the 1790s. "Perhaps the most satisfactory method of recovering how Enlightenment perceptions influenced the political culture of early America is to study how such feelings affected 'real people' making decisions," Smith writes in his preface, and he proceeds to show how such perceptions affected the two Franklins and how their thinking, in turn, contributed to American thought.

In a first chapter that constitutes an overview of "the pursuit of the common good," Smith explains that the Enlightenment republicanism of the Jeffersonians was a product of frustrations with the past and hope for the future. The rest of the book is divided into two sections: "Benjamin Franklin and the Foundations of Enlightenment Republicanism" and "Benjamin Franklin Bache and the Rise of Jeffersonian Journalism." One of the fascinating aspects of the first section is that as Smith discusses Franklin's thoughts on public-spirited behavior and educating the enlightened child, one can see how he is translating his philosophy into action in the way that he directs the education of Bache in three countries, in order to make him the model republican citizen. Smith notes that "a republic, as Franklin understood it, suffered when its citizens lost their self-esteem and independence," characteristics the grandfather fos-

tered in his young offspring. Moreover, in training Bache to become a printer-publisher in Philadelphia, Franklin sought for him a trade he considered crucial to the education of citizens ina republic.

Bache was only twenty when Franklin died and twenty-nine when he himself fell victim to the yellow fever in 1798. Yet as an opposition editor in those few years he embodied the libertarian notion that newspapers improved the lives of the public and raised their political awareness. The *Aurora*'s basic theme was that the aristocratic, pro-British Federalists, who controlled the national government and found themselves regularly reviled in the paper's pages, were hostile to the interests of the common person. "[W]hat Bache and other writers were condemning as immoral and inconsistent with the revolutionary promise of the American republic was greed, domination, and intolerance. Wealthy white men, it appeared, were shaping the nation for their own power and benefit."

This quote is one of a few in the book that indicates just how exclusive republican philosophy was. This fact of exclusivity, however, tends to get lost in the plethora of enlightenment ideals propounded by Franklin and Bache—ideals that sound very inclusive: being created equal, having an inalienable right to pursue happiness, needing to cultivate one's mind through education and the press, and working toward greater participation in the political system. "[F]or those Americans who foresaw greater happiness and harmony in a future where one person was supposed to count as much as another, the ultimate necessity was not merely feeling good, but being good," Smith writes. While he does point out that these seemingly inclusive statements in fact excluded most people based on social class and race, he does not discuss the fact that women too were not considered "people" in relation to this revolutionary rhetoric. Franklin and Bache may have discussed questions of class and slavery and not women's role in new republic society. Still, the book should place half the population in the context of the times.

While that is a weakness, one of the book's many strengths is that "Old Lightning Rod" and "Lightning Rod Junior," as Bache's archrival William Cobbett would call them, come to life in its pages. The biographical information provided is just the right amount to allow the reader to conceptualize the two men's lives. (Bache, by the way, was the legitimate son of Franklin's legitimate daughter Sarah and, therefore, not one of the many "wayward splinters from Old Lightning Rod" of whom Cobbett talked constantly. In fact, the only good thing Cobbett had to say about Franklin was that his moral example was a useful one, especially in a country that was thinly inhabited. He had nothing good at all to say about Bache.) Smith's book, rather than emphasizing time lines, however, focuses on the intellects of Franklin and Bache, how they grew and developed in closely inter-related ways and how the two were linked in their conceptions of the public good as well as in the public's perception.

Smith's book is well researched, with impressive documentation provided at its end, and the text is highly readable. It seems to me to be a model for intellectual biography.

. . . *Karen K. List*
University of Massachusetts

●

THE FIRST AMENDMENT, DEMOCRACY, AND ROMANCE.
By Steven H. Shiffrin.
• Harvard University Press
• 1990, 296 pp.
• $29.95, Cloth

STEVEN SHIFFRIN'S book takes its readers on a provocative romp through First Amendment theory and decision-making methodology. It challenges much of what is widely accepted in the field and accepts much of what causes consternation among other scholars.

A professor of law at Cornell University and coauthor of the casebook

Constitutional Law, Shiffrin describes current First Amendment decision-making as an "often dreary business" of arriving at compromises. He says the resulting law is a "schizophrenic" committee product with no single organizing vision. It is time to discover what the First Amendment really means, he says.

However, Shiffrin rejects the notion that we need a grand First Amendment theory, one that will provide answers to all First Amendment disputes. He says the complexities of social reality do not allow for a single, easy answer to all free-speech cases. Instead Shiffrin prescribes what he calls Romantic eclecticism.

Half of that prescription is for the eclectic decision-making method Shiffrin says already is employed by the courts. It is eclectic in the sense that a variety of tests are used to deal with the variety of factual contexts from which cases arise. For example, he says, it is not practical or even possible to apply the same sweeping principles to resolve both cases that involve threats to national security and commercial speech cases.

Shiffrin also says that all the tests are basically balancing tests, which is as it must be because social reality is too complicated to justify the belief that speech values are always more important than the values with which they conflict. A decision-making method more determinative than some form of balancing is impossible.

While Shiffrin defends this eclectic approach, he does, however, take exception to the way the courts actually use their various tests. He says the courts appear to articulate the tests without much thought and then apply them sloppily.

So, while Shiffrin is critical of some aspects of First Amendment decision making, he defends its eclectic nature and its strong reliance on balancing. In fact, he says the problem with First Amendment decision-making is not with its method but with the values held by decisionmakers. He argues that the method will take care of itself if the values are right.

That's where Romance comes in. Shiffrin argues that the courts should adopt the Romantic notion of the dissenter as the primary organizing symbol in First Amendment law—that is, Romantic in the nineteenth century sense of Ralph Waldo Emerson and Walt Whitman. Shiffrin says Emerson and Whitman celebrated dissent and defiance of the establishment as the means to foster a creative and dynamic society in which individuals flourish, the truth is discovered, necessary change takes place, and illegal abuses of power are combatted.

Shiffrin says that the Romantic ideal, democracy, and the First Amendment already are closely interconnected but that the First Amendment needs to be made more Romantic than it is now. He believes that a major purpose of the First Amendment should be to protect and to sponsor the Romantics, "those who would break out of classical forms: the dissenters, the unorthodox, the outcasts." In a wide-ranging analysis, Shiffrin critiques and rejects as inaccurate and overdrawn the symbols that are more firmly embedded in free speech law—the marketplace of ideas, the town meeting, and the content-neutral government.

Shiffrin does not contend that adopting the symbol of the dissenter as a primary First Amendment value will provide quick and easy answers for those who must define the limits of free expression. The difficulty in deciding cases is illustrated by his own examples. For example, Shiffrin suggests that independent spirits like the Carlins and the O'Briens should be recognized and appreciated as dissenters. But he says tobacco companies that take on the scientific establishment by challenging the notion that cigarette smoking causes cancer are not dissenters in the Romantic sense. He writes that "the corporate tobacco speaker seeking to maximize profits just does not exhibit the kind of independence and/or rebellion that we ordinarily associate with dissent or the romantic tradition." However, he believes that placing a higher value on dissent—giving dissent a

plus—will allow the courts to apply their tests in a manner that more accurately reflects what is truly valued in and valuable for our society.

Shiffrin challenges his readers to rethink their understanding of what the First Amendment stands for, what democracy is all about, and how cases are and should be decided. Well written and at times intellectually playful, this book is every bit as original as its title.

. . . Cathy Packer
University of North Carolina

●

HEMINGWAY: ESSAYS OF REASSESSMENT.
Edited by Frank Scafella.
• Oxford University Press
• 1991, 288 pp.
• $29.95, Cloth

YOU PROBABLY HAD to be there—the Third International Conference of the Hemingway Society in Schruns, Austria, in 1988. The scholars who presented papers—the best of which ostensibly are collected in this book—really set upon the Hemingway literary establishment in the best Hemingway tradition, and I would not be surprised if a bloody nose or two resulted. Take, for example, poet Donald Junkins, who enlists Carl Jung to help him take on the Freudian speculations of biographer Kenneth Lynn. Junkins does not care for Lynn's "screwball" psycho-sensationalism and implies that Lynn's probing into Hemingway's sexuality shows only that Lynn ought to be on the psychologist's couch, and not Papa. "If there is an erection here," Junkins says, discussing Lynn's interpretation of one seemingly innocent passage, "it is Lynn's."

And then we have H. R. Stonebach, who within a flutter of several pages calls Jeffrey Meyers "a self-appointed Grand Inquisitor" and finds his work facile, arrogant, outrageous, careless, flippant, confused and condescending. Lynn gets off easy—he's only called a do-it-yourself, self-help psychobiographer. Stonebach's biographical bull to gore is Hemingway's putative Catholicism, and he winds up persuading us that Hemingway was as Catholic in spirit as Cardinal Newman despite what his biographers have said to the contrary.

Less robust academic bickering shows up throughout this arrangement of sixteen essays interspersed with selections from the Hemingway papers housed in the John F. Kennedy Library. The concept of reassessment is begotten from the opening in 1980 of the Kennedy Library archives—the Dead Sea Scrolls of Hemingway studies—several new biographies, and the posthumous publication in 1986 of Hemingway's *The Garden of Eden*. The Kennedy collection is providing enough grist for the scholars' mill to last well into the next century and with each inspection of the files an increasingly bewildering Hemingway is emerging amidst the quotidian details. Textual scholars, especially, are in the ascendency as the holographs of discarded or deleted material from the short stories and novels are matched against what actually appears in print. Not even James Joyce left so many tantalizing clues for the professors. Why did Hemingway regret not publishing a short story called "A Lack of Passion" and why did he change the focus of the novel posthumously published as *Islands in the Stream*? Would his false start on *The Sun Also Rises* have given us a more satisfactory novel had he left it in? And so on. After the biographers and their critics and defenders have a go at one another, the psychologists hold forth with new interpretations of Hemingway's character, based on the androgynous couplings revealed in *The Garden of Eden*.

I think the finest essay is contributed by longtime Hemingway scholar Earl Rovit. He discovers Hemingway's heart of darkness in his obsessive fear of exclusion. He says, for example, that the probable crucial function of a Hemingway plot "is to stake out a significant space where the protagonist can be separate from and palpably superior to the rest of the world." Hemingway's appeal may be found in the devices he

uses to draw the reader into an exotic, heroic world while simultaneously excluding the reader from participating. Hemingway's clipped prose itself is exclusionary, a doctrine of narrative omission, Rovit suggests.

Hemingway's journalism—including *Death in the Afternoon* and *Green Hills of Africa*—does not get significant attention in these essays but there is so much more to learn about this extraordinarily original writer that the journalism historian can hardly fail to be enthralled. The book delights, and my only reservation is the abundance to typographical errors that the copy editors at the Oxford University Press should have spotted.

. . . Paul Ashdown
University of Tennessee

●

BICYCLES, BANGS, AND BLOOMERS: THE NEW WOMAN IN THE POPULAR PRESS.
By Patricia Marks.
• University Press of Kentucky
• 1990, 232 pp.
• $22, Cloth

THE MORE POLITE commentators called her the "New Woman," but periodicals of the day labelled her and her sisters in more judgmental ways as well. They were called, for example, "varmity women," "wild women," "social insurgents," "revolting daughters," and "manly women." But whatever they were called, it was clear that they were not ladies.

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, social and economic changes made it possible—and sometimes necessary—for middle-class women in the United States and Britain to begin moving beyond the domestic world into the wider, male-dominated one. Here they sought some measure of independence in the form of expanded education, paid work, and association with other women in clubs and athletic activities. They also increasingly wore "rational," less restrictive clothes that freed them for physical movement, and, in publications of the day, often symbolized their new aspirations and status.

Patricia Marks, a professor of English at Valdosta State College, has examined satires, parodies, cartoons, and caricatures depicting the New Woman in British and American humor periodicals of the 1880s and 1890s. Her research has resulted in an entertaining compilation of written and pictorial images illustrating how (mostly male) humorists in the popular press reacted to women's changing roles.

Women were portrayed wearing clerical vestments, judges' wigs, bloomers, and business shirtwaists. They were shown smoking cigarettes, riding bicycles, studying in libraries, and commanding armies. They were mocked—sometimes gently, sometimes cruelly—for wanting college degrees and careers. (A piece in *Life* described how a "newspaper woman" made up quotes as "she translates the laconic reticence of the interviewed lion into several columns of what she knew he wanted to say and somehow didn't.")

According to some of the satirists, courting and marrying the New Woman involved particular problems. Aggressive women might pursue and wed men, then desert their domestic duties. While their husbands cooked, sewed, and took care of their children, these women would be free to run off to their clubs, where they could drink, gamble, and smoke cigars. In short, they might act like men. No wonder the New Woman at times was warned that she might never marry. As an article in the London *Truth* explained: "The charm of a young girl is her chief attraction. She becomes a 'pal,' and she is no longer the idol to be adored and worshipped, the ideal to be wooed and won."

Marks explains that underlying much of this humor was the concern that gender roles were becoming confused. Since the New Woman did not act, dress or talk in the ways traditionally expected of women, she frequently was portrayed as taking on male attributes, including male competitiveness. The fear was that

the masculinization of women would be accompanied by the feminization of men, permanently changing the relationship between the sexes.

In her brief concluding chapter, Marks maintains that American periodicals tended to portray such changes as much less threatening than did British publications. American humor magazines were far more likely to express pride (though often condescending pride) in the New Woman, or to treat her efforts at independence as trivial or misguided. The views of the satirists in the British press generally were harsher and more vitriolic, and their subjects were more likely to be bitterly attacked.

It is unfortunate that these interesting ideas have not been well substantiated by preceding sections of the book, which seldom call attention to differences between British and American publications. Indeed, although Marks provides helpful (if too brief) information on the historical developments that led to the emergence of the New Woman, and also offers some perceptive (if also too brief) analysis of some of the themes and underlying messages found in the material she has described, she includes very little background on the periodicals that carried this material. And because she presents her data according to the themes in their content, combining material from several periodicals in a single paragraph or section, most readers will find it difficult to differentiate between magazines.

As a result, the journalism historian may well be frustrated by the lack of journalistic content and the impossibility of drawing any solid conclusions about the periodicals in which these images appeared. Marks's book does not provide the reader with enough information to note changes in contents over time, to compare magazines or to speculate about differences between British and American publications. We are told a great deal about the New Woman and some of the ways she was pictured in humor magazines, but we learn little about the magazines themselves.

A more serious problem is that it is impossible to know how representative the material Marks cites is of humor periodicals of the period, or just how this material was selected. The author never explains precisely what magazines were examined (although probable titles and dates can be inferred), why they were selected, or how systematically they were studied. Did she examine every issue of each publication? Were all humorous references to the New Woman collected? Do the examples cited in the book fairly represent the periodicals' contents on this subject overall, or are they among the more exaggerated and extreme instances of what was published? Did Marks study only contents that addressed her book's major topics—marriage, paid work, education, clubs, fashion, and athletics—or were those topics developed following an examination of all of the periodicals' humorous material on the New Woman?

In short, Marks's method is a mystery, so it would be unwise to generalize beyond the examples she cites. Still, these examples are revealing and often entertaining, and they no doubt capture important elements of how the New Woman was perceived as she began to change herself and, inevitably, British and American society.

. . . *Susan Henry*
California State University
Northridge

●

JERRY FALWELL v. LARRY FLYNT: THE FIRST AMENDMENT ON TRIAL.
By Rodney A. Smolla.
• University of Illinois Press
• 1990, 352 pp.
• $12.95, Paper

IF YOU ARE looking for a highly interesting, first-rate technical analysis of the legal issues raised by *Falwell v. Flynt*, then Smolla's work will more than satisfy you. If, in contrast, you desire an objective analysis placed in an insightful historical and philosophical context, then you will be disappointed.

To his credit Smolla openly admits in the pref-

ace that he "participated tangentially as an advocate in the case" when he assisted in preparing a friend-of-the-court brief favoring Flynt. He also states that, in spite of this connection to Flynt, he "tried to do justice to the full power of both Reverend Jerry Falwell's and Larry Flynt's positions." A seasoned scholar should know the perils of such a precarious position are rarely, if ever, avoided. While Smolla does indeed present what appears to be a superb, technically correct description of Falwell's legal case, he is unable to distance himself emotionally from Falwell's more repugnant assertions, which he continually disparages while showing a sometimes grudging, but other times openly glowing, admiration for Flynt's courage in thumbing his nose at the legal and financial consequences of answering with brutal honesty questions from an opposing counsel.

The main problem with this otherwise astute analysis is that Smolla avows one approach in the preface and takes another in the text. He asserts that "the book is intended to be as much an exercise in American Studies as Constitutional Law"; yet the text reveals a thorough acquaintance with First Amendment law, and plain ignorance of much of the American historical, philosophical, and cultural milieu in which the issues of this case rest. In particular, Smolla's knowledge of the history of religion in American is fatally flawed. Here he is, quite simply, out of his element. It is painfully clear that his knowledge of the history of religion in American is no more than superficial.

He makes reference, for example, to the work of William Lee Miller, but he fails to mention many of the truly great modern historians of religion in the United States: scholars like Winthrop Hudson, William G. McLoughlin, Jr., and William W. Sweet, to name only three. Nor does he mention *The Fundamentalist Controversy, 1918–1931* (Archon, 1954), a definitive work by N. F. Furnis or the pioneering work of S. G. Cole, *The History of Fundamentalism* (R. R. Smith, 1931). At one point, Smolla strangely juxtaposes the chronologically disjunctive thoughts of Jonathan Edward with those of Ruth Carter Stapleton, ignoring the historical currents that flowed through if not flooded the centuries between those two.

Moreover, he appears to be completely unaware of the origins of fundamentalism as a historical event and of the importance of the religious weltanschauung giving rise to this movement. The term was coined in 1920 by the editor of the *Watchman-Examiner* as a name for conservative Christians committed to defending the "fundamentals" against what they considered the continual reduction of traditional dogmas by historical and formal criticism of the Bible.

Smolla's attention to philosophical issues is also disappointing. What he considers philosophical concerns are probably better described as the theoretical foundations of court rulings. The broader and deeper issues raised by the First Amendment and discussed by scholars like Frederick Schauer, for example, are nowhere to be found. While Smolla writes about obscenity and public interests, Schauer writes about aesthetics, values, and rights.

A few words about mechanics. The chapters are numbered, but not titled, making it difficult to find information. The end notes use outdated style features, including *ibid.*, an abbreviation that often makes it exasperatingly difficult to trace the source of a reference. Citing *Lawyer's Edition* and the *Supreme Court Reporter* could save time for readers wishing to locate Supreme Court cases.

Like all successful attorneys, Smolla is able to view a case from an opponent's position, and he does indeed accurately describe the legal positions of Flynt and Falwell. Consequently, as an analysis of the legal issues, Smolla's work is first-rate. In contrast, the historical and philosophical context in which he places his analysis is at best disappointingly inadequate. Nevertheless, the extremely interesting narrative accounts of depositions and the cogent expla-

nations of legal positions more than justify the price of the book.

. . . Douglas Campbell
Lock Haven University

●

MAKING SCIENCE OUR OWN: PUBLIC IMAGES OF SCIENCE, 1910–1955.
By Marcel C. LaFollette.
• University of Chicago Press
• 1990, 312 pp.
• $45, Cloth; $17.95, Paper

THIS BOOK IS a useful contribution to the growing literature on science writing.

LaFollette states in the preface to the book that "science has been so thoroughly incorporated into American culture that it is hard to imagine life without it. . . . Clearly science has become too important to be ignored, even by those who do not understand it or who reject it." She adds that "the ambiguity of current public attitudes did not result, however, from any one event or use of science. . . . The prominence of science as a cultural symbol—and scientists as national heroes—arose gradually through the twentieth century, as the research enterprise itself gained political and economic strength. And skepticism grew alongside it."

This book traces the construction of these attitudes by examining how science and scientists were presented in mass-circulation magazines from 1910 through 1955. LaFollette's goal is to bridge the gap between studies of science in the mass media and the concerns of public policy by placing public images in their political context, past and present. What people believe about science—how it is done, who does it, and why—affects their political response; therefore, probing the origins of public attitudes toward science has become important to science policy strategy in all countries.

For the study LaFollette uses a stratified random sample of eleven American magazines directed at the general audience with a high national circulation, moderately priced, and published without interruption over a substantial period, such as the *American Mercury*, the *Atlantic Monthly*, the *National Weekly*, *Harper's Monthly*, *Scribner's*, and the *Saturday Evening Post*. Of the available 8,300 issues of the magazines published between January 1910 and December 1955, she examined 3,316, and located 687 nonfiction articles that were either 1) biographies or interviews with scientists, 2) articles that described, analyzed, discussed, or criticized science in general or a scientific development or field or in particular, or 3) articles written by scientists with clearly identified credentials. Not included in the study were fiction magazines or journals such as *Popular Science Monthly* or *Scientific American* that are intended for an audience attentive to science.

The combined data from the magazines show that science articles represent about 4 percent of the total nonfiction articles. Magazine coverage of science overall was cyclical, with increasing coverage in the 1920s, a reduction in the 1930s, and an increase after 1945. The same pattern holds for the placement of articles on science with the percentage of lead articles on science usually fluctuating from under 5 to slightly over 10 percent. Comparing the fields of science highlighted in lead articles, LaFollette found that a special importance was assigned to biology around 1925 and to physics in the mid-1930s and 1940s, although the overall number of articles on biology rose during the 1940s.

Two kinds of writers emerge: scientists writing journalism and journalists writing science. LaFollette argues that because American scientists participated actively and enthusiastically in describing their own research, analyzing the work of colleagues, and giving interviews to journalists, they were not just relating scientific facts but were also attempting to advance the cause of science and were using the media in efforts to influence national policymaking and attract funding for basic research. In the 1910s and 1920s scientists wrote more than 40 percent of the articles; in the 1930s the proportion written by scientists dropped. Coinci-

dentally, the proportion of science articles written by specialized science journalists increased steadily from the 1920s and reached a high in the 1940s, when in some years they wrote half or more of the science articles in the magazines.

The stereotypical images of the scientists presented by journalists are represented by four recurrent themes: the scientist as wizard, as expert, as creator/destroyer, and as hero. LaFollette also devotes a chapter to women in the laboratories and the negative influence of gender on the writing and journalistic coverage of women scientists.

So what inferences does LaFollette draw regarding the future of science writing and science policy? In comparing data from the 1950s and 1960s with survey data from the 1980s, as well as a pilot research project in which LaFollette participated in 1982, she concludes that there is a "continued strong belief in the beneficial nature of science," that "people continue to expect significant outcomes from science," and that the public believes "scientific research should receive federal support" as well as regulation.

But in LaFollette's view, modern science journalism fails in most cases because "it covers the social structure and social implications of science inadequately or incompletely." She calls for more coverage on how "scientific research is conducted and on what can be realistically expected from conventional research techniques and standards." Research projects should be described in ways that dispel myths and inform policy debate.

LaFollette is encouraged by the contemporary investigative atmosphere of journalism. She contends that journalists today place science in its social context and are more likely than they were up through the 1940s to scrutinize and occasionally to reject myths of scientists in favor of images widespread in American society. She ends on the optimistic note that "a new generation of science communicators and journalists, alert to the moral, economic, and political implications of research, may succeed in conveying a realistic image and in supplying their audiences with the information necessary to accept or dismiss scientific advice wisely."

Eight appendices provide data and graphs. Forty-one pages of notes are followed by a selected bibliography for each chapter. In addition, graphs and photographs are inserted liberally throughout the text.

The book apparently is a rewrite of LaFollette's dissertation, and the flow of the text suffers from the disadvantages of a dissertation edited for publication. Even though she devotes a chapter to "Defining Science: How Scientists Work," it is unclear throughout the book what her precise definition of science is. LaFollette frequently interjects present-day situations to illustrate points taken from her study set in the period 1910–55. It is sometimes difficult to distinguish one time frame from the other. The contemporary illustrations might better have been held for the last chapter of the book, which is devoted to post-1955 developments. LaFollette alludes often to the social responsibility of science and science writers. I would like to have seen her more fully develop this concept. However, these flaws are minor in the overall value of the book. I recommend it to anyone interested in the history of science writing.

. . . Jean E. Tucker
Library of Congress

●

TIME PASSAGES: COLLECTIVE MEMORY AND AMERICAN POPULAR CULTURE.
By George Lipsitz.
• University of Minnesota Press
• 1990, 306 pp.
• $34.95, Cloth; $14.95, Paper

TIME PASSAGES begins with the sketch of a promising approach to studying popular culture and collective memory, but in the end that promise is unrealized.

In the first chapter, George Lipsitz links mass communication, discourse, and collective memory by examining the similarities between history and commercialized leisure. He argues that both "originated

at the same time and for the same reasons."(5) In much of the rest of *Time Passages*, Lipsitz attempts to tease out the implications of such a connection by discussing the "remembering of history" and the "forgetting of commercialized leisure."

There is no doubt that Lipsitz has found a rich thread to interlace popular culture, history, and memory. What Lipsitz calls the "Age of Amnesia" indeed seems a crisis of history, one that reaches deep into collective memory but also into politics (as, at the very least, President Ronald Reagan's "forgetfulness" of events shows).

Lipsitz also connects this "crisis in history" to teaching, and to recent books by Allen Bloom, E. D. Hirsch, and Lynn Cheney. The most interesting passages in Lipsitz's book are his observations about the political ramifications of teaching popular culture as history.

Yet Lipsitz follows follows an odd course after an introduction to these issues. He provides narrowly focused, quite detailed, insightful, and sharp analyses of television programming, popular music, novels, and carnivals. But his analyses do not bring out much beyond what has already been said about these forms by others.

It is not until the last chapter, "Buscando America (Looking for America)" that Lipsitz returns to the broader picture to discuss collective memory and popular culture. Unfortunately, at this point, the thread linking history and popular culture unravels. Lipsitz concludes that commercial culture enables us "to understand more about [our] own memory and experience by connecting with the memories and experiences of others." (269)

While I have no doubt that this is true, especially in the cases Lipsitz analyzes throughout the book, it is troubling to find such an unsharpened, irresolute end. For what Lipsitz has set out by way of the connection between popular culture, memory, and history is the potential for engaging issues of class, collective memory, and what Milan Kundera has called, in *The Book of Laughter and Forgetting*, the struggle of memory against forgetting.

I believe this recovery of the politics of memory is important for two reasons. First, because it allows those interested in the study of communication to parallel some of the achievements of British cultural studies insofar as they, too, were concerned with class and class tensions. Indeed, until very recently, most "importations" of British cultural studies in analyses of U.S. media have slipped by issues of class and concentrated on cultural studies as a form of textual analysis. Lipsitz's notion that class and cultural identity in the U.S. can be tied into popular cultural forms is a step toward further understanding class divisions that too often seem blurred in the long run but sharply defined in the short run.

Second, and most importantly, Lipsitz's identification of the difficulties that collective memory is having with forgetting resonates with current cultural and political activity. Rather than yet another exercise in the redemption of popular culture, then, *Time Passages*, distinct from its weaknesses, provides a blueprint for understanding popular culture's intersection with history, collective memory, and power.

. . . *Steve Jones*
University of Tulsa

●

THE COURSE OF TOLERANCE: FREEDOM OF THE PRESS IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY AMERICA.
By Donna Lee Dickerson.
• Greenwood
• 1990, 250 pp.
• $45, Cloth

DONNA LEE Dickerson has collected and summarized a striking array of legal and extralegal attacks on press freedom in nineteenth-century America. Many of the episodes (such as mob attacks on abolitionist editors and military restrictions on the press during the Civil War) have been studied before, but the scholarship is scattered throughout a number of separate works.

The Course of Tolerance thus offers a handy intro-

duction to the state of press freedom in the century that followed ratification of the First Amendment. With its clarity and rich detail, the book makes a valuable reference and, it might be noted, an excellent source of lecture material.

Perhaps the most impressive sections are those dealing with the passions and paranoia of war. After the Battle of New Orleans, Andrew Jackson went on a binge of censoring and arresting critics that remained an embarrassment for the rest of his public career. Civil War generals took similar actions, often in inconsistent fashion, but seem to have practiced news management by delaying bad news and giving more information to the reporters who praised them.

The book's strengths, however, are in its description rather than its analysis. With limited attention to larger issues and no conclusion, it lacks interpretive punch.

The introduction states that "there is little doubt that nineteenth-century America embraced a strong libertarian ideology that endorsed a press unrestrained by *government* even in the most trying times." This spirit, the author continues, "did not prohibit suppression of expression by the community itself." This generalization breaks down somewhat in the chapters that follow. Still, *The Course of Tolerance* offers an unsettling account of community pressures, pressures James Madison, for one, had noted as potentially dangerous to liberty as official actions.

The author's announced emphasis on using primary sources recovers a considerable amount of history. Unfortunately, the study thereby neglects secondary works that might reveal problems with sources or offer useful insights.

The book does not, for instance, build upon the various authoritative analyses of the evolution of nineteenth-century libel law or of the fears behind anti-abolitionist violence. At the same time, the much-criticized work of Leonard Levy appears to be accepted at face value.

Dickerson does not deal with all areas of press freedom. Little is said about the development of state constitutions, and no attempt is made to deal with some topics such as contempt or obscenity.

A minor matter, but one that is distressingly common in the present world of book publishing, is the moribund art of proofreading. Here, by my count, the name of a Federalist editor prosecuted for criminal libel is spelled "Croswell" six times and "Crosswell" eight times. In the bibliography, the title of David Riesman's *The Lonely Crowd* appears as *The Lonely Crows*.

No criticisms, however, should detract from the fact that the book provides a significantly improved picture of the problems the press faced in its first century as a constitutionally protected institution in American society.

. . . Jeffrey A. Smith
University of Iowa

●

MEDIA AND MEDIA POLICY IN WEST GERMANY: THE PRESS AND BROADCASTING SINCE 1945.
By Peter J. Humphreys.
• Berg
• 1990, 368 pp.
• $59.50, Cloth

IT IS IMPORTANT to remind ourselves that this "free press" the Eastern Europeans are now so enthusiastically importing has flourished elsewhere than the United States and in some important and distinct forms. Indeed, no model of how to operate an open and successful press and broadcasting system is more readily available to these new democracies than that found in that political entity until recently known as West Germany.

The German media system is less familiar to most American media scholars than that of Britain or France. I have seen no better introduction to it in English than Peter Humphrey's new book.

Humphreys, a political scientist who teaches at the University of Manchester, approaches the post-war history of West German newspapers and broadcasting as a study in "public policy." It is a particularly appropriate approach in this case. The reconstruction of mass commu-

nications in West Germany, after the German defeat in World War II, was shaped and controlled by a number of conscious and careful public policy decisions, made by the occupying powers and then the Bonn government. And that government, particularly its Federal Constitutional Court, has assumed unusual responsibilities for, in Humphrey's words, "upholding the principles of pluralism and balance in the country's media system."

The German press has a long history: the oldest surviving printed newspapers were written in German in 1609. But of course it became, as Humphreys writes, a "fairly ignominious history." Alfred Hugenberg, for example, who built perhaps Europe's most powerful press and film empire during the Weimar Republic, was thoroughly implicated in the Nazi rise to power. The Allies, rightly, wanted few traces of this old media system to remain when the reconstruction of West Germany began in 1945—known as *Stunde Null*, or "zero hour."

One major goal was to discourage the formation of press empires like Hugenberg's and to maintain pluralism by encouraging broadly diverse press ownership. Such good intentions have, however, in large part been thwarted by the same economic forces that have transformed the capitalistic press elsewhere in recent decades. By 1980 the Alex Springer group (including the *Bild-Zeitung*) sold 28 percent of West Germany's daily newspapers. By 1985, in a familiar pattern, only six German cities had competing newspapers. And the political spectrum of the country's national newspapers now extends from the right (the Springer group) only as far as the center-left.

Humphreys concludes, in his clear if uninspired prose, that "nevertheless, the West German press sector certainly does exhibit what might be described as a reasonable degree of 'limited pluralism.'" There remain national newspapers loyal to both the largest political parties, and the local press remains more important than in Britain, for example.

Humphreys is more enthusiastic about German broadcasting. He praises the quality of the public networks, which have been described as "the second least worst in Europe," after Britain's. He argues that this state-controlled system has for the most part succeeded in avoiding the "blatant politicisation" found in French television. And he believes West Germany's complex structure of mostly court-monitored controls on broadcasting, "with its emphasis on the role of diverse 'socially significant groups' is undoubtedly far more democratic, open, and accountable than the rather elitist British system." The debate about whether the U.S. government should impose more or fewer regulations on broadcasting would benefit from more familiarity with the German model.

German broadcasting is now stumbling down the suddenly crowded road to private ownership. Humphreys flinches at the sight of the press barons gobbling up the new franchises. But he holds out hope that the country's system of pluralistic public-service broadcasting will remain healthy in this new "dual track" structure.

. . . *Mitchell Stephens*
New York University

●

FOREIGN POLICY AND THE PRESS: AN ANALYSIS OF THE *NEW YORK TIMES'* COVERAGE OF U.S. FOREIGN POLICY.
By Nicholas O. Berry.
• Greenwood
• 1990, 184 pp.
• $39.95, Cloth

FOLLOWING BERNARD Cohen's observation that the press may not tell its audience what to think but is often successful in telling it what to think about, social scientists and mass media researchers have for a generation probed the relationship between policymakers, the public, and the press in policy-making. The result of this research has tended to reflect certain preoccupations of the researchers. Those who believe audiences actively process political informa-

tion see the media exercising little influence in policy-making. The more viewers or readers know about an issue, these scholars say, the less dependent they are on the mass media's power of persuasion. Those scholars who see audiences as passive players in policy-making consider the media an important tool in the hands of policymakers. It is through the power of propaganda, these scholars claim, that a malleable public is persuaded to embrace policies that elites have fashioned for them.

Nicholas Berry, a professor of politics at Ursinus College, contends in *Foreign Policy and the Press* that both the major and minor media effects camps are partly right. Berry's principal contribution to the debate is that he conceives policy-making as a three-step process. When foreign policy is being formulated and executed, Berry suggests, the press is little more than cheerleader for the administration. It dutifully reports the president's line, largely because no voice of equal legitimacy, inside or outside of government, has yet emerged. Berry's content analysis of the *New York Times*'s coverage of five foreign policy failures persuades him that it is only in the outcome stage, when the press perceives a gap between administration promise and performance, that it seeks out and publicizes those opposed to perpetuating the administration's mistake. Berry believes this pattern was at work in the *Times*'s reporting of Kennedy's failure at the Bay of Pigs, Johnson's debacle in Vietnam, Nixon's mistaken incursion into Cambodia, Carter's impotence in winning the release of American hostages, and Reagan's bloody intervention in Lebanon. Berry's point is that the media's dependence on official sources in the early stages of each crisis makes the press little more than a stenographer for administration policy explanations. The consequence of this, according to Berry, is that the press fails to prepare Americans for the collapse of those policies and does little to stimulate early debate that might lead to a change in a policy that appears headed toward failure.

Berry's study might be strengthened by a title that promised a little less. This examination of foreign policy and the press is limited to content analysis of a limited sample of a single newspaper. Berry codes three issues of the *Times* for each of the three stages of policy formulation, execution, and outcome. But his reasons for selecting those issues and his coding strategy remain obscure.

Berry's examination of each president's frame of reference and situational analysis, which Berry sees as central to the unfolding of policy and press coverage of it, is somewhat superficial. It relies almost exclusively on presidential speeches and isolated press coverage of those speeches. It lacks a careful analysis of primary and secondary sources, including the extensive work done in the field by Jack McLeod and other mass media researchers that helps describe the contexts in which policymakers acted, and the ways they attempted to use the press to further policy objectives.

Berry uses rhetorical shorthand to reconstruct the conventional wisdom that led successive administrations to policy pitfalls. Berry speculates that Kennedy's "can do" anti-communism "undoubtedly" would have led him to recruit an exile army to invade Cuba even if Eisenhower had not left him one. Johnson had a "fatalistic commitment to combat," and his secretary of state, Dean Rusk, was "Sinophobic." Nixon's tough talk on Vietnam followed his seeing the movie *Patton*. Carter's "absurd" policy in Iran was a "confused" mix of his overripe moralism and "gamesmanship." Reagan's blundering in Lebanon was the product of forty years of "simple, static, anti-Communism."

Berry's Monday-morning quarterbacking extends to the *Times*'s reporters and the nations they write about. As a Kennedy supporter in 1980, Berry was "astounded" that senior columnist at the *Times* failed to recognize Carter's "dead end" policy in the Persian Gulf. The *Times*'s Bernard Gwertzman is ridiculed for "naively and

irresponsibly" reporting Reagan's "wishful thinking" and "pure propaganda" on Lebanon, and Israel is derided for its "secret, ingenious" plot to start a war in Lebanon as a pretext for the forced expulsion of all Palestinian Arabs living on the West Bank.

Berry is at times as guilty as the press and policymakers he chides in advancing his own wishful thinking. The problem with the press in policymaking is not its reluctance "to call a lie a lie" because of its fear of "alienating sources," as he claims, but the fact that its news values lie in telling stories that meet deadlines and that do not alienate the conventional wisdom of its readers. And that is something Berry also points out. This makes *Foreign Policy and the Press,* despite its deficiencies, a welcome contribution to the expanding literature on policy-making and the press.

. . . *Bruce Evensen*
DePaul University

●

AMERICAN CASSANDRA: THE LIFE OF DOROTHY THOMPSON.
By Peter Kurth.
• Little, Brown
• 1990, 587 pp.
• $24.95, Cloth; $12.95, Paper

HOW AND WHY prominent people became important often tells much about the era in which they lived. So it is with Dorothy Thompson, a Methodist minister's daughter raised in suburban Buffalo who, at age twenty-five, struck out for London and eventually Vienna. She left with little money, but hoped to support herself as a newspaper stringer, though she had little experience. By 1921, within a year of leaving the United States, she was a European bureau chief for the *Philadelphia Public Ledger.*

Talented and confident, Thompson refused to be held back in a man's world. This book brings to life a largely forgotten woman who influenced her profession, her country, and the image of American women. Kurth carefully recreates the career of one of the most powerful syndicated columnists of the 1930s and 1940s, first with the *New York Herald Tribune* and later the *New York Post.* An outspoken critic of the Nazi regime, she became in 1936 the first foreign journalist to be expelled from Germany. The book makes good use of the Thompson archival collection at Syracuse University, including unpublished memoirs, diaries, financial records, notes, newspaper clippings, and correspondence. But the real strengths are Kurth's descriptive writing and knack for recreating the egocentric, self-confident, self-righteous journalist.

By page 587, the reader knows Thompsonas a suffragist, social worker, pioneering woman correspondent, wife of the brilliant but boozy writer Sinclair Lewis, lecturer, columnist, wealthy host to the nation's literati, pro-Jewish anti-Zionist, anti-New Dealer pro-interventionist, liberal anticommunist, mother of a troubled child, and broken-down hasbeen. They are all there. Kurth holds nothing back.

If the book has a weakness, it is the consuming interest in Thompson's private life, particularly the tumultuous marriage to Sinclair Lewis. This is bothersome because Kurth hardly discusses her journalistic style and stumbles over explanations of her intellectual arguments. Thompson was a complex theorist, whose passions often led to contradictory positions. She at first opposed and then supported Franklin Roosevelt, advocated unlimited immigration for Jewish refugees in the 1930s before becoming a spokesperson for the Arab cause in the Middle East in the 1950s, and privately advised Adlai Stevenson in the 1952 election while publicly endorsing Dwight Eisenhower. Kurth trips uncomfortably on these issues and could have made better sense of these anomalies by departing from the archival material in favor of copious quotes from her columns, while more quickly summarizing the dreary recollections of her troubled domestic life.

But this is a readable, informative book worth any media historian's time.

Dorothy Thompson's life tells us much about isolationism, American writers, American journalism, and a world marching toward war. This is a biography that not only brings Dorothy Thompson back but returns us to the time when people would not listen to the warnings of Cassandra.

. . . Louis Liebovich
University of Illinois

●

THE GREAT WAR AND WOMEN'S CONSCIOUSNESS: IMAGES OF MILITARISM AND WOMANHOOD IN WOMEN'S WRITING.
By Claire M. Tylee.
• University of Iowa Press
• 1990, 293 pp.
• $27.50, Cloth

THIS PROVOCATIVE book offers a fresh look at war literature, moving beyond the almost exclusively male-written descriptions of the battlefront (an area from which women were banned) to present European women's literary responses to the war. Until now their voices have been little heard, "drowned out . . . [by] the resentful complaint of young men," the trench-poets of the Western Front.

Tylee explores the forces of propaganda and censorship that stifled women war authors' voices. In so doing, she provides an informative political and economic context for our literary memory of World War I—a context that is missing in other treatments of time, memory, and the past, such as Paul Fussell's *The Great War and Modern Memory* (Oxford University Press, 1975). While Fussell's work is extremely important, it treats "memory and culture as if they belonged to a sphere beyond the existence of individuals or the control of institutions," as Tylee demonstrates.

The Great War and Women's Consciousness reveals what women wrote about World War I. Despite censorship efforts, many women managed to record their thoughts about war and how best to stop it. Tylee discusses a wide variety of this writing, including diaries such as Vera Brittain's; pacifist novels by writers such as Mary Hamilton, Rose Macaulay, and Rose Allantini; best-selling novels by Virginia Woolf, Cicely Hamilton, Rebecca West, and May Sinclair; and autobiographies and fictionalized war memoirs by Sylvia Pankhurst, Evadne Price, and other writers.

Of particular interest to journalism historians in Tylee's discussion of war fiction by Rebecca West such as *The Return of the Soldier*, which inspires reflection about the interplay between West's journalism and fiction. A strong chapter on women World War I correspondents (Mildred Aldrich, May Sinclair, Mrs. St. Clair Stobart) explores how women's war-time journalism was "inextricably bound" to prevailing cultural beliefs about power, manliness, and national hegemony. Most importantly, in recovering their work, and that of other women war writers, Tylee raises essential questions about how "memory" and myth are created —and by whom.

. . . Nancy Roberts
University of Minnesota

●

UNIVERSITY OF TULSA
FACULTY OF COMMUNICATION
600 SOUTH COLLEGE
TULSA, OK 74104

NON-PROFIT ORGANIZATION
US POSTAGE PAID
UNIVERSITY OF TULSA
PERMIT NO. 661

PER
PN
4700
.A39

AMERICAN JOURNALISM

BYU Library S

OCT 2 8 2005

FALL 1991

Published by the American Journalism Historians Association

KJ

AMERICAN JOURNALISM

FALL 1991

DEPARTMENTS

•228•
RESEARCH NOTES
Adolph Ochs: Learning What's Fit to Print
•266•
BOOK REVIEWS
Review Essay: Film History's Bildungsroman

Literary Journalism in the Twentieth Century

International Encyclopedia of Communications

The Press and the Cold War

Cold War Rhetoric

The Vietnam Era

The Selling of the Constitutional Convention

and more . . .

•301•
INDEX

ARTICLES

- From Suspension to Subvention: The Southern Press during Reconstruction, 1863–1870
  How Southern Newspapers Resisted the Military Occupation.
  Donna L. Dickerson 230

- The Conspiracy of Silence: Media Coverage of Syphilis, 1906–1941
  How the Press Relunctantly Enlisted in a Major Health Campaign.
  Timothy Walters and Lynne Masel Walters 246

EDITOR
John J. Pauly
Tulsa
ASSOCIATE EDITORS
Pamela A. Brown
Rider College
Richard Lentz
Arizona State
BOOK REVIEW EDITOR
Nancy Roberts
Minnesota
DESIGN
Sharon M.W. Bass
Kansas
ADVERTISING
Alf Pratte
Brigham Young
ASSISTANT EDITOR
Barbara Buckley
Tulsa
FORMER EDITORS
Wm. David Sloan
Alabama
Gary Whitby
East Texas State

—

AMERICAN JOURNALISM HISTORIANS ASSOCIATION

PRESIDENT
Leornard Teel
Georgia State
VICE-PRESIDENT
Nancy Roberts
Minnesota
SECRETARY
Donald Avery
Samford
BOARD OF DIRECTORS
Perry Ashley
South Carolina
Roy Atwood
Idaho
Sherilyn Bennion
Humboldt State
Elaine Prostak Berland
Webster
Edward Caudill
Tennessee
Carol Sue Humphrey
Oklahoma Baptist
Alf Pratte
Brigham Young
Barbara Straus Reed
Rutgers
James Startt
Valparaiso

EDITORIAL PURPOSE. *American Journalism* publishes articles, research notes, book reviews, and correspondence dealing with the history of journalism. Such contributions may focus on social, economic, intellectual, political, or legal issues. *American Journalism* also welcomes articles that treat the history of communication in general; the history of broadcasting, advertising, and public relations; the history of media outside the United States; and theoretical issues in the literature or methods of media history.

SUBMISSIONS. All articles, research notes, and correspondence should be sent to Professor John Pauly, Editor, *American Journalism*, Faculty of Communication, University of Tulsa, 600 S. College Avenue, Tulsa, Oklahoma 74104. Authors should send four copies of manuscripts submitted for publication as articles. *American Journalism* follows the style requirements of *The Chicago Manual of Style*. The maximum length for most manuscripts is twenty-five pages, not including notes and tables.

All submissions are blind refereed by three readers, and the review process typically takes about three months. Manuscripts will be returned only if the author has included a self-addressed stamped envelope.

Research notes are typically three- to six-page manuscripts, written without formal documentation. Such notes, which are not blind refereed, may include reports of research in progress, discussions of methodology, annotations on new archival sources, commentaries on issues in journalism history, or suggestions for future research. Authors who wish to contribute research notes are invited to query the editor.

Anyone who wishes to review books for *American Journalism*, or to propose a book for review, should contact Professor Nancy Roberts, Book Review Editor, *American Journalism*, School of Journalism and Mass Communication, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455.

American Journalism is produced on a Macintosh computer, using Microsoft Word and Pagemaker software. Authors of manuscripts accepted for publication are encouraged, but not required, to submit their work on a DOS-based or Macintosh disk.

ADVERTISING. Information on advertising rates and placements is available from Professor Alf Pratte, Advertising Manager, *American Journalism*, Department of Communications, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah 84602.

SUBSCRIPTIONS. *American Journalism* (ISSN 0882-1127) is published quarterly by the American Journalism Historians Association, at the University of Tulsa. Subscriptions to *American Journalism* cost $25 a year, $10 for students, and include a one-year membership in AJHA. Subscriptions mailed outside the United States cost $25 for surface mail, $30 for air mail. For further information, please contact the Editor.

COPYRIGHT. © American Journalism Historians Association, 1991. Articles in *American Journalism* may be photocopied for fair use in teaching, research, criticism, and news reporting, in accordance with Sections 107 and 108 of the U.S. Copyright Law. For all other purposes, users must obtain permission from the Editor.

REFEREES. Thanks to the following editorial board members, who have recently read manuscripts for *American Journalism.*

Maurine Beasley
Maryland
Sherilyn Cox Bennion
Humboldt State
Douglas Birkhead
Utah
Jean Blocker
Tulsa
James Boylan
Massachusetts
Patricia Bradley
Temple
E. Culpepper Clark
Alabama
Hazel Dicken-Garcia
Minnesota
Carolyn Dyer
Iowa
Jean Folkerts
George Washington
Carol Sue Humphrey
Oklahoma Baptist
Beverly James
New Hampshire
Joli Jensen
Tulsa
Louis Liebovich
Illinois
Karen List
Massachusetts
Larry Lorenz
Loyola-New Orleans
Jack Lule
Lehigh
Carolyn Marvin
Pennsylvania
Marion Marzolf
Michigan
Zena Beth McGlashan
Butte, Montana
Joseph McKerns
Ohio State
Alf Pratte
Brigham Young
Wm. David Sloan
Alabama
Jeffery Smith
Iowa
MaryAnn Yodelis Smith
Wisconsin
William Solomon
Rutgers
Robert Spellman
Southern Illinois

FROM THE EDITOR •

JOURNALISM'S HOARIEST myth imagines the modern press originating in a moment of enlightenment, in a revolt against the forces of institutional repression. In Frank Luther Mott's strikingly Protestant metaphor, a free and independent press emerges from the "dark ages" of partisan influence.

A cultural history of journalism might tell a rather different tale. As the two articles and the research note in this issue illustrate, that history might show how compelling culture, custom, and circumstance can be, even to the most free and independent press.

Donna Dickerson's account of press policy during southern reconstruction emphasizes the persistence of regional habits. Though the military occupation at first created ideological conflict, southern Republicans and Democrats soon rediscovered a common interest in maintaining the old patronage system and keeping blacks disenfranchised.

Timothy and Lynne Masel Walters's account of the media campaign against syphilis reminds us of how assumed standards of propriety often constrain the press. For years the popular press tiptoed around the very term *syphilis* because it simply could not bring itself to speak of so indelicate a topic.

Finally, Sharon Gates and Catherine Mitchell's account of Adolph Ochs's early career compels us to rethink the mythic origins of the *New York Times*. For many of Mott's generation, the *Times* was the very model of a sober, independent, objective paper, the modern benchmark against which one could judge the entire history of American journalism. Gates and Mitchell argue that the *Times*'s commitment to objectivity may have originated in Ochs's personal admiration for *Knoxville Chronicle* editor William Rule. (The note is based upon Gates's senior honors thesis, which was supervised by Professor Mitchell and funded by an Undergraduate Research Grant at the University of North Carolina—Asheville.)

For Mott the press was the pure light that saves us from the impenetrable darkness. We might as easily think of the press as a spectacle through which we observe, as through a glass darkly, the shambling forms of our own humanness.

– J.P.

RESEARCH NOTES

ADOLPH OCHS: LEARNING WHAT'S FIT TO PRINT

THE STORY OF Adolph S. Ochs is by now familiar. Historians have generally treated Ochs as a great man of business. It was he, after all, who took Henry J. Raymond's obscure and bankrupt *New York Times* and made it arguably the best newspaper in the United States and a publication read worldwide.

The problem with this story is that it gives Ochs too little credit for the content of the paper. When Ochs bought the *Times* in 1896, William Hearst's *New York Journal* and Joseph Pulitzer's *New York World* were competing for circulation, using large, attention-grabbing headlines, gaudy illustrations, and sensational stories. Ochs chose instead to follow the principles that had earned him a reputation of responsibility with the *Chattanooga Times* and to run "all the news that's fit to print." Ochs wanted an unbiased journalism that presented the reader facts with which to interpret the news, rather than someone else's interpretation.

Scholars have traced this idea of objectivity to the post-Civil War years. Hazel Dicken-Garcia, for example, attributes the concept to that generation's reexamination of the functions of the press. Michael Schudson attributes objectivity to the late-19th century fascination with science and scientific analysis. But much of Ochs's journalistic philosophy may have originated in the offices of the *Knoxville Chronicle*, where he worked from 1872 to 1875 as a journeyman printer. As Ochs would later tell a gathering of journalists, "I entered the business as the 'devil' in a printing office—which has been my high school and my university."

At the *Chronicle* Ochs witnessed editors from two generations work at the craft of journalism. The aging William Gannaway Brownlow practiced an older style of partisan journalism, while the much younger William Rule edited objectively. These men taught Ochs the newspaper business, and through their different editorial styles presented him with choices about the role of opinion in a newspaper.

Brownlow, beginning in 1840, used his newspaper, the *Whig*, to promote his politics and denounce his enemies. He insulted his political enemies and anyone else who disagreed with his tactics. For instance, Julius Ochs, Adolph's father, wrote that Brownlow "referr[ed] to me contemptuously as a '—— Jew.'" Brownlow "wielded a fierce and bitter pen, and because of this he was constantly involved in altercations," according to E. Merton Coulter, his biographer. Brownlow brawled in the streets with angry readers and rival editors, and one competitor even wounded him in a duel. "In point of severity and wholesale abuse of individuals, our paper is without parallel in the history of the American Press," Brownlow once bragged.

During the Civil War, Brownlow, a staunch Union supporter, told readers what he would like to do with Confederates: "Had we our wish, we would throw hell wide open, and place all such beast-like officers and men upon an inclined plane, at an angle of forty-five degrees, grease the plane with hog's lard six inches thick, with a wicket at the bottom, and send them, as one stream of traitors, robbers and assassins, into the hottest part of the infernal regions." Brownlow's Confederate-bashing editorials resulted in his arrest on charges of treason against the South and escort to a point north of the Mason-Dixon line. During Reconstruction, Tennessee voters elected Brownlow governor twice, in 1865 and 1867, and in 1869 sent him to the U.S. Senate. Early in 1875, Brownlow purchased half of William Rule's *Knoxville Chronicle*, where he worked until his death in 1877.

William Rule began newspaper work in 1860 in the mail room of Brownlow's *Whig* and soon became a reporter. Like Brownlow, he was pro-Union and anti-slavery. Rule served with the Union Army's Sixth Tennessee Infantry from 1862 to 1865, marched to the sea with William Tecumseh Sherman, and mustered out at the rank of captain. In 1870 Rule founded the *Knoxville Chronicle* and in 1885 the *Knoxville Journal*, which survives today. Adapting to post-Reconstruction political realities, he won election to two terms as mayor of Knoxville at the turn of the century.

Rule advocated a more moderate approach to journalism. In 1873 he refused to duel with an angry reader. "Nothing would be gained by either of us losing his life in the manner proposed," Rule explained. This decision "is believed to have had a great influence in discrediting duelling in the South," said his obituary. In the *Knoxville Journal* in 1885, Rule said he wanted the paper to have "a reputation for veracity and reliability. . . . We are convinced that the newspaper reader of the period is more concerned in knowing what is going on in the world than in reading the opinions of the editor."

Adolph Ochs shared this view. Ochs argued that a newspaper "whose editor's utterances are revised by a political caucus is an abomination in the sight of the Lord and manly men." In an address before the National Editorial Association in June 1891, Ochs echoed Rule's teachings: "It is not necessary that an editor and publisher should be a pugilist or a duelist, but it is necessary that he be made of such stuff that he fears no one who prides himself on these barbarous characteristics."

In that same address, five years before Ochs bought the *Times*, he said that readers "more and more demand the paper that prints the history of each day without fear of consequences, the favoring of special theories or the promotion of personal interests." When he returned to address the association in 1916, Ochs again endorsed unbiased reporting, saying "men with the practical equipment and the sincere and vigilant purpose to present the news honestly and without prejudice, and to interpret it with independence and fairness" should be journalists.

Ochs said his association with Rule and Brownlow influenced him greatly. Writing in the *Chattanooga Times* in 1879, Ochs would call Brownlow "a harsh man; a reliable hater; not particular to be politically consistent, eager to carry any point he set his head or heart on; endowed with a violent temper and a vindictive nature. . . . We confess no admiration, personal or other, for the dead Governor and Senator. His political methods were especially distasteful. . . . He was always, to our mind, the same violent, and if trusted with power, dangerous man."

Ochs's opinion of Rule was almost reverent. In Rule's 1928 obituary in the *Knoxville Journal*, Ochs admitted that "Captain Rule was a hero to me when I was a lad 10 years of age, and in the 60 years that have elapsed since then, he has not only maintained that eminence in my mind, but has steadily risen higher in my esteem and affection."

During his apprenticeship at the *Knoxville Chronicle* from 1872 to 1875, Adolph Ochs learned of Brownlow's and Rule's strongly differing views about the place of opinion in a newspaper. His *New York Times* would choose to practice an objectivity that reflected the views of his "hero," William Rule. The *Times* remained objective, perhaps, because Ochs had witnessed the consequences of the partisan journalism of the "violent" and "dangerous" William G. Brownlow.

. . . Sharon Joyce Gates
Catherine C. Mitchell
University of North Carolina
Asheville

FROM SUSPENSION TO SUBVENTION

The Southern Press during Reconstruction, 1863–1870

Donna L. Dickerson

THE SOUTH EMERGED FROM the war impoverished, devastated, and burned out—literally and spiritually. Plantations had to be rebuilt, industry had to be revived, and a slave-owning society had to adjust to the new status of the freedmen. Some tried to cling to the old ways; others cast their eyes toward the future, hoping for a South that would once again stand strong. But the road to normalcy would be pitted with a northern reconstruction policy that demanded, among other things, that blacks not only be free but enjoy their harvest of civil rights.

Returning with the defeated Confederates to burned out and looted farms and businesses were southern newspapermen, whose print shops had also been abandoned and wrecked. Southern newspapers suffered greatly during the war: newspapers were reduced by shortages of paper, type, and ink; by a lack of transportation and postal services; by enlistment of employees; and by enemy invasions. There is no accurate census of pre- and post-war southern newspapers, only piecemeal figures for certain states. For example, in Mississippi, sixteen of seventy-five newspapers survived the first year of the war, and in Virginia, forty newspapers were suspended during that first year.[1] In Texas, fifty of sixty newspapers were suspended.[2] Like the merchants and farmers, editors set immediately to the task of rebuilding. By 1880, 128 daily newspapers were being published in the South, up from 70 in 1860.[3]

Donna L. Dickerson is professor and director of the School of Mass Communications at the University of South Florida. She is the author of *The Course of Tolerance: The First Amendment in the Nineteenth Century* (1990), and of *Florida Media Law* (1991).

1. *Charleston Mercury*, 8 January 1862.
2. Cutler Andrews, *The South Reports the Civil War* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1970), 44. The ninth census reported 890 newspapers in Texas in 1860. See *Compendium of the Ninth Census* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872), 510–11.
3. *Compendium of the Ninth Census*, 508–13; *Compendium of the Tenth Census*, pt. 2 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1883), 1628–31. The 1860 figures do not include newspapers in Arkansas and Florida.

Frank Luther Mott referred to reconstruction as a time of suffering for the southern press that did not end until the "reign of terror" brought by carpetbaggers was over.[4] Mott's reference was to political patronage doled out by "corruptionists" who forced papers to "'sing low' or suspend." This picture of a spineless press "kept" by malevolent politicians was the same one Mott painted of the American press in the early part of the century, when the "corruptionists" were Adams, Jefferson, and Jackson.[5]

Without broad patronage from both Democrats and Republicans, however, the southern newspaper would have barely existed after the war. In practice, the Republican purse strings were held not by Radical rascals but by moderates who, if anything, too easily acquiesced to the compromises that led to reconstruction's failure. The only "reign of terror" was the continuation of wartime censorship by northern occupation forces after Appomattox. While northern editors fully enjoyed the privilege to criticize Congress, reconstruction policies, the Union army, and the president, some of their southern brethren were being arrested and their newspapers suspended for expressing the same opinions. Although such arrests were not widespread, they were noteworthy enough during the early years of reconstruction to create an atmosphere of self-censorship among editors critical of reconstruction policies.

This study examines efforts to control the southern press, first by the military then by political forces, during the period 1863 to 1870. By 1870, all of the southern states had elected their first post-war legislatures and most had approved the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. Once southern states began to assume control over their own affairs, "outside" interference with the press ceased.

Some southern editors were able to revive pre-war newspapers destroyed or closed during the war. Others, former Confederates and carpetbaggers, started new journals on a shoestring. Few newspapers survived though, for readership was small and advertising revenue finite. Despite hard times, these newspa-

---

4. Frank Luther Mott, *American Journalism* (New York: Macmillan, 1950), 368.
5. Mott's interpretation followed that of William Dunning, *Reconstruction, Political and Economic, 1865–1877* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1907). Dunning viewed Reconstruction as "an era of corruption presided over by unscrupulous carpetbaggers from the North, unprincipled southern white scalawags, and ignorant freedmen." In Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863–1877* (New York: Harper and Row, 1988), xix–xx. For a more modern version of the Dunning argument, see E. Merton Coulter, *The South during Reconstruction, 1865–1877* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1947). Mott's interpretation was repeated by Hodding Carter, Sr., in *Their Words Were Bullets, The Southern Press in War, Reconstruction, and Peace* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1969), 42. Carter claimed that the "financial rewards of editorial support by the carpetbag-scalawag press" created a "corruption of the press [that] rotted the moral fiber" of southern journalism.

pers participated in a raucous, excessive form of journalism seldom seen before or since in America. Robert Ridgway, the Unionist editor of the *Richmond Whig*, described the role of the "loyal" southern press: "Our soldiers having overthrown the insurgents, it will now be the duty of our loyal journalists to rekindle the smouldering fires of patriotism, infuse new ideas into the South and win back our deluded countrymen to their first love."[6]

The *Richmond Times*, an anti-Unionist newspaper, saw the role of the southern press much differently:

> There never was a time when the southern press was performing its duty to the South more vigilantly, fearlessly and usefully than now. The evidence of this ability, fidelity and [dedication?] can be found in the curses, imprecations, groans and yells of all the detected, flagellated and exposed military tyrants, unworthy judges, thievish cotton agents and mousing agents of the Freedman's Bureau. . . . But for the press, these harpies would have stripped our people as bare as a pack of coyotes devour the carcass of a buffalo.[7]

The Democratic-controlled *Meridian* (Mississippi) *Mercury*, reflected the attitude of many southern rural papers when it wrote: "Let the newspapers boldly cry aloud and spare not. . . . Let us have no fornicating with the Radical Party, under the idea of begetting a 'new South,' but let us nail our colors to the mast, and stand by them like men."[8]

Although Radical Republicans and abolitionists were pushing hard for black equality, no law required southerners to grant equality. In fact Lincoln's Reconstruction Act of 1863 allowed southern states to adopt whatever temporary measures were necessary to deal with blacks, "considering their present condition as a laboring, landless and homeless class." Consequently, the most controversial aspect of presidential reconstruction was not black enfranchisement but the amnesty oath and confiscation. These two issues brought the former rebels and the northern occupation forces toe to toe in a battle of words as well as fists. To ensure that the partisan editorial debate did not spark violence, the military did not hesitate to threaten or silence the intemperate southern editor.

The amnesty oath, the most controversial issue, could be taken by all but the highest Confederate officials and military officers in order to be enfranchised. Many southerners, including editors, refused to take the oath and warned others that to do so was an act of humiliation. In 1865 the *Daily Gazette* and *Daily Pantagraph* of Little Rock, Arkansas, carried editorials advising against taking the oath. Gen. Joseph Reynolds, believing the

6. *Richmond Whig*, 9 June 1865.
7. Quoted in *Florida Peninsular* (Tampa), 14 September 1866.
8. Quoted in Carter, *Their Words Were Bullets*, 43–44.

editorials countenanced disloyalty, closed the *Daily Pantagraph* when the editor refused to disclose the author of one editorial. The *Daily Gazette* was not closed, but the military kept a close watch on future issues.[9]

In Georgia, Augustus P. Burr, a junior editor of the *Macon Journal and Messenger*, published a humorous editorial about taking the oath. The paper was suspended by Gen. James H. Wilson, commanding at Macon. The *Albany Patriot*, reacting to Burr's arrest and the suspension, several days later, of the *Macon Daily Herald*, noted that newspapers no longer had any influence, so there was really no need to threaten newspapers with suspension. For this criticism, the local military commander threatened the *Patriot* with suspension. The *Patriot* conceded: "We will say no more about military or civil government in Georgia until a mere editorial is not labeled as treason. It is wise to be silent."[10]

The *Richmond Whig*, now under the editorship of its war-time Democratic editors, labeled Johnson's amnesty plan "heathenist." It termed Congress's confiscation plan a "mean, brutal and cowardly policy. The revolting absurdity of such a policy is only equalled by its atrocious injustice." The *Whig* was suspended for ten days. When the newspaper resumed printing, editors W. M. Elliot and T. C. Shields noted with sadness that they were no longer absolutely free to discuss all issues. Nevertheless, the editors vowed to do their best under the "embarrassing and harassing circumstances."[11]

Most of the direct interference with newspapers resulted from their criticism of the local military presence. With troops posted in or around every southern community, it was difficult for editors not to feel, as the *Richmond Whig* did—"cribbed, cabined and confined."[12] After the *Loyal Georgian*, a weekly Republican paper for blacks published and edited by a white northerner, criticized the local military commander in Augusta, a guard was posted in the press room for several days. That the paper was not suspended was due in part to the fact that it was a loyal Republican organ.[13] After the *Mobile Advertiser and Register* criticized the military for forcing a funeral procession to turn around and find another route to the cemetery, the commander at Mobile threatened to post a guard at the paper.[14]

Military interference occurred throughout the South. In Louisiana, the editor of the *St. Martinsville Courier de Teche* was

9. James Sefton, *The United States Army and Reconstruction, 1865–1877* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1967), 55; *Little Rock Daily Gazette*, 7 September 1865.
10. *Albany Patriot*, 29 July, 5 and 15 August 1865.
11. *Richmond Whig*, 11 and 24 July 1865.
12. *Richmond Whig*, 24 July 1865.
13. Elizabeth S. Nathans, *Losing the Peace* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1968), 24, n. 12.
14. *Mobile Advertiser and Register*, 1 and 3 March 1867.

arrested for his continuous criticism of military occupation.[15] The editor of the *Franklin Planter's Banner* was arrested after publishing an editorial about a feud between the local provost marshal and the mayor.[16] In Virginia, the editor of the *Petersburg Daily News* was arrested and jailed for three months in Richmond after he ridiculed President Johnson's charges that Jefferson Davis had been involved in Lincoln's assassination.[17] And in Georgia, the *Americus Summer Republican* and the *Albany News* were suspended after being charged with disloyalty and failing to promote peace and national unity.[18]

Whatever the reason for suspension or arrest, the newspapers generally reflected their communities' impatience with both the overt military presence and what they considered "monstrous and ungenerous outrages" by Radicals who were "trampling on the Constitution to effect our degradation and ruin."[19] For the military, which was a legal occupation force, direct action offered an expedient means of controlling a rebellious and disloyal population and limiting anti-reconstruction rhetoric.

Most of the direct actions against newspapers were carried out by local commanders without approval of either their state or department commanders. These unsanctioned local initiatives may have been the reason Gen. Ulysses S. Grant issued an order in February 1866 that any decision to suspend newspapers rested solely with him. Department commanders were to send him copies of any newspaper that contained "sentiments of disloyalty and hostility to the Government," and indicate whether the paper was "habitual in its utterances of such sentiments." Grant, who had a reputation for tolerance toward the press throughout his Civil War campaigns, let it be known that his order was issued with a view to the suppression of only the most hostile newspapers.[20] Despite Grant's threat, only one recorded incident of newspaper suppression in the South occurred between February 1866, the date of his order, and March 1867, the end of presidential reconstruction.[21]

By January 1866, all of the southern states except Texas had been reconstructed according to the policies of Lincoln and Johnson. Civil officers (all white) were in place at all levels of

15. Joe Gray Taylor, *Louisiana Reconstructed, 1863–1877* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1974), 66.
16. Sefton, *U.S. Army and Reconstruction*, 55.
17. *Petersburg Daily News*, 22 June 1865.
18. Albany *Patriot*, 16 August 1865; Louis Turner Griffith and John E. Talmadge, *Georgia Journalism, 1763–1950* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1951), 91–93.
19. *Richmond Times*, quoted in *Florida Peninsular*, 7 July 1866.
20. Edward McPherson, *The Political History of the United States of America during the Period of Reconstruction* (1875; reprint, New York: Negro University Press, 1969), 122.
21. That one newspaper was the *Southwestern Baptist*, which had criticized local military behavior in Marion, Alabama. Rhoda Coleman Ellison, *History and Bibliography of Alabama Newspapers in the Nineteenth Century* (Birmingham: University of Alabama Press, 1954), 90–91.

state government; black codes had been resurrected; and the economy was recovering slowly. Presidential reconstruction was proclaimed a success by southerners because it had limited the options open to blacks, reinforced the economic privileges of whites, shielded planters from the full impact of emancipation, and inhibited the development of a free market in land and labor.[22] In April 1866 Johnson proclaimed the war at an end and the military began pulling back its authority. But southerners' hopes for full participation in the political life of the nation began to disintegrate when radical Republicans in Congress became serious about giving blacks full civil and political equality.

Both radical and moderate Republicans in Congress were dismayed by Johnson's refusal to push for black enfranchisement and his willingness to compromise with southern lawmakers in favor of national unity. Radical leaders such as Charles Sumner and Thaddeus Stevens denounced the liberal tone of presidential reconstruction and began promoting a policy that would thwart attempts to create a separate laboring class of blacks with separate laws. In March 1866 radicals and moderates began modifying presidential reconstruction with a civil rights bill and a bill aimed at giving more support and federal authority to the Freedman's Bureau.

The civil rights bill was actually a compromise between radicals and moderates. It guaranteed to all citizens (except Indians), regardless of former state of servitude, the right to sit on juries, bring lawsuits, make contracts, and enjoy the benefits of all laws for the security of persons or property. Although the law said nothing about the right to vote, southerners worried that the civil rights bill was just the first step toward enfranchising their "new colored neighbors." Sam Craft, editor of the *Florida Peninsular*, explained to his readers in Tampa that because the bill listed certain civil rights, any other rights (such as voting) that were not specified were excluded. "We have no fears therefore, that this bill can possibly be so construed . . . as to admit our colored fellow citizens to the ballot box."[23] According to Craft, the law did not admit blacks to the voting booth, nor did God: "The God of nature has interposed an interdiction to [the black man's equality] that the legislatures of man cannot undo."[24]

When President Johnson vetoed the civil rights and Freedman's Bureau bills, he precipitated a war between Congress and the presidency that eventually resulted in the Reconstruction Act of 1867, a congressional plan that once again placed the South under military control. The South was divided into five military districts commanded by Grant. The district commanders were to oversee the registration of all eligible black and white male voters and supervise the election of state conventions to draft

22. Foner, *Reconstruction*, 210.
23. *Florida Peninsular*, 12 May 1866.
24. *Florida Peninsular*, 19 May 1866.

new constitutions. To be readmitted to the Union, each state had to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment and guarantee black suffrage.[25]

Editorial reaction to this new reconstruction plan, which disenfranchised large groups of white voters and enfranchised all black adult males, was caustic. Many Democratic papers campaigned fiercely against voter registration and the convening of constitutional conventions, saying that the end would be a mongrelized government run by incompetent blacks and deceitful carpetbaggers.[26] The more moderate editors strongly promoted voter registration and office seeking, believing that a strong white turnout would dilute the black vote. The *Florida Peninsular*'s Craft argued that "if our best men do not seek office, our worst will, and power will pass into the hands of those who will most abuse it."[27]

Despite overt hostility to the new reconstruction policy, and the increased role of the military in southern affairs, military interference with the press declined, though it did not disappear.

In May 1867 a riot broke out in Mobile, Alabama, when a radical Pennsylvania congressman tried to deliver an address to a gathering of freedmen. Taunts and jeers from whites led to gunshots, and several men were killed.[28] A fortnight later, the *Mobile Nationalist*, a black Radical newspaper edited by two white northerners but directed by a black board of advisors, carried a letter that advised that if a man is attacked he has the perfect right to defend himself.

Gen. O. L. Shepherd, commander at Mobile, ordered a guard to stand watch over the *Nationalist* offices for two days to prevent further distribution of that particular issue.[29] The *Nationalist* accused Shepherd of taking revenge against the newspaper for not "slavering him with praise" and for criticizing his soldiers' conduct toward blacks. "It is bad enough to have a wise man for a censor, but from being judged by an ass, good Lord, deliver us!"[30]

When Gen. John Pope, commander of the Third Military District (Georgia, Alabama, and Florida) learned of Shepherd's action against a loyal Republican newspaper, he ordered the guard withdrawn and reprimanded Shepherd for interference that was "unauthorized and extremely disproved." Pope ordered the military to secure the greatest freedom of speech and press and not to restrict either. No officer or soldier was to "interfere with newspapers or speakers on any pretext." Even if

25. 14 *U.S. Stats.* 428, 485; 15 *U.S. Stats.* 2.
26. See, for example, *Mobile Advertiser and Register*, 9 and 10 March 1867.
27. *Florida Peninsular*, 29 July 1867.
28. House Executive Document No. 1, *Report of the Secretary of War*, 40th Cong., 2d sess., 1868, 330–21 (hereafter cited as *Report of the Secretary of War, 1866–67*).
29. *Mobile Nationalist*, 30 May, 6 June 1867.
30. *Mobile Nationalist*, 6 June 1867.

the suppression was treasonous, action could only be taken with the approval of Pope himself.[31]

In the Second Military District, the *Carolina Times* in Charlotte, North Carolina, was suppressed by Commander Daniel Sickles after the editor, R. P. Waring, complained that the South was "under a more grinding despotism" than any nation had ever been. Waring was arrested in Raleigh on Christmas Day, tried and convicted of sedition, and ordered to pay a three hundred dollar fine. He returned to his paper but was forced to suspend publication in fall 1868.[32]

In August 1867 the *Constitutional Eagle* of Camden, Arkansas, criticized the local troops for drunkenness, indecency, profanity, and "obscene exhibitions." Thirty soldiers from the local detachment wrecked the newspaper office, broke the press, destroyed the next issue of the *Eagle*, and dumped type into the river.[33]

Gen. E. O. C. Ord, commander of the Fourth Military District, apologized. The officer in charge of the local detachment was court martialed, found guilty, sentenced to forfeit one year's pay, ordered to repay damages, and demoted and reprimanded. In his letter of reprimand, Ord remarked that untruthful comments do not usually provoke a reasonable man, and in this case the comments about drunkenness of soldiers were resented in proportion to their truthfulness.[34]

Ord, however, did not hesitate to arrest William H. McCardle, editor of the *Vicksburg Times*, who had broken a direct order against any white man advising blacks to act unlawfully. McCardle allegedly had published incendiary and libelous articles about Ord, President Johnson, and others. When the local judge issued a writ of *habeas corpus*, Ord said McCardle had been arrested under authority given the military district commanders by the reconstruction acts, not under civil law. McCardle challenged the validity of those acts, taking his case to the U.S. Supreme Court. However, the high court was forced to dismiss the appeal in *Ex parte McCardle* because Congress had restricted the Court's appellate jurisdiction to insure that it could not declare the reconstruction acts unconstitutional.[35]

Gen. John Schofield, commanding in the First District of Virginia, was very patient with the state's Democratic newspapers. For example, when the *Richmond Times* carried an editorial titled "A Black Man's Party in Virginia," Schofield merely warned the editor that "the efforts of your paper to foster enmity, create

31. *Report of the Secretary of War, 1866–67*, 326–27, 329–31.
32. Jack Claiborn, *The Charlotte Observer: Its Time and Place, 1869–1986* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 12–13.
33. The details of this incident can be found in Sefton, *United States Army and Reconstruction*, 152; Margaret Ross, "Retaliation against Arkansas Newspaper Editors during Reconstruction," *Arkansas History Quarterly* 31 (Spring 1972): 150–65.
34. Ross, "Retaliation against Arkansas Newspaper Editors," 150–65.
35. Ex parte McCardle, 7 Wallace 507 (1869).

disorder, and lead to violence, can not longer be tolerated." Schofield was not interested in carrying out any threats. In fact, he was already on record as opposing the Fourteenth Amendment and the enfranchisement of blacks.[36]

President Johnson supported moderate generals such as Schofield. In fact, within the first year of congressional reconstruction, Johnson had replaced every radical district commander with a more moderate man who believed in cooperating with southern leaders and in limiting military interference.[37] This cooperationist attitude by district commanders was a major factor in limiting direct interference with newspapers during congressional reconstruction.

Although radical Republicans were the prime movers behind the Reconstruction Act of 1867, the administration of reconstruction policy rested in the hands of moderates. Intent upon maximizing southern cooperation, moderates promoted a policy of biracial cooperation aimed at reconciling rather than dividing blacks and whites.[38] Moderate military commanders filled civil posts with other moderates—both black and white; and political organizers encouraged blacks to join the Union League, an organization dedicated to educating blacks about their rights.[39]

But the most powerful tool of reconstruction and Republicanism was the printing patronage dollar—the "journalistic elixir of life," according to one editor.[40] In March 1867 Congress passed an appropriations act that allowed federal printing contracts to be let to two newspapers in each southern state. The decision as to which newspapers would receive these contracts was placed directly in the hands of Edward McPherson, clerk of the House of Representatives and a moderate.[41]

In Texas, Mississippi, Arkansas, and South Carolina where there were few Republican newspapers, competition for the contracts was slight. But in Florida, Georgia, and Virginia, it was keen and boisterous. Republican papers had a difficult time sustaining themselves in the politically hostile climate of the South. Most southerners refused to advertise in or subscribe to Republican newspapers. Added to the disdain for the Republican press was the reality of a very low literarcy rate among blacks and whites in the South.[42] Therefore, the Republican press, even

---

36. James Sefton, ed., "Aristotle in Blue and Braid: General John M. Schofield's Essays on Reconstruction," *Civil War History* 45 (March 1971): 53, 56.
37. Although Congress had stripped the president of many of his powers relating to reconstruction, he still retained the prerogative to replace district commanders. See, generally, Sefton, *United States Army and Reconstruction.*
38. See, generally, Foner, *Reconstruction,* and Richard H. Abbott, *The Republican Party and the South, 1855–1877* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986).
39. Foner, *Reconstruction,* 283; Abbott, *Republican Party and the South,* 90–95.
40. *Mobile Advertiser and Register,* 4 March 1867.
41. *Statutes at Large* ch. 167 (1867).
42. Lawrence Powell, "The Politics of Livelihood: Carpetbaggers in the South,"

in the larger cities, could survive only if it had government subvention.

In the spring and summer of 1867, McPherson was deluged with correspondence promoting various "loyal" newspapers. But it was the newly formed southern Republican Press Association that proved the most persuasive. McPherson accepted the entire slate of southern newspapers submitted by the association.[43] Most of the newspapers that received federal patronage were small. The *New York Sun*, a Democratic paper, described the papers as "sickly concerns which could not long exist without food from some unusual quarter."[44]

In Richmond, Virginia, the *New Nation* received the federal printing contract. But when editor James W. Hunnicutt, a southern Radical, began editorializing for broad disenfranchisement and confiscation—a position that was too radical for Virginia's moderate leadership, McPherson withdrew the contract and the paper ceased publication.[45] In Florida, McPherson withdrew the printing contract from the *Jacksonville Florida Times* when it began supporting a group of radicals campaigning across the state in a mule-drawn wagon.[46] In Georgia, which had a half dozen Republican newspapers, McPherson first let contracts to the *Daily Republican* in Savannah and the *Loyal Georgian* in Augusta. But when word reached McPherson that the Savannah paper was not truly a Republican paper, the contract was withdrawn and given to the *New Era* in Atlanta, which walked a tight line between conservative and moderate.[47]

While federal printing patronage supported many of the South's moderate Republican newspapers, city and state printing contracts and advertising subsidized Democratic newspapers. Throughout the South, political sponsorship ensured a lively exchange of political viewpoints. In most districts, the granting and denying of printing contracts was a political free-for-all from which district commanders distanced themselves. However, when Pope, the Radical commander of the Third District, found it increasingly difficult to carry out Congress's mandate in the face of opposition from both the press and civil government, he became the only commander to issue sweeping orders directly affecting printing patronage.

Believing that "it is surely better to have an incompetent but loyal man in office, than to have a rebel of whatever ability,"

---

in *Region, Race and Reconstruction*, ed. J. Morgan Kousser and James M. McPherson (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 315–47.

43. Abbott, *Republican Party and the South*, 92, 133–36; Resolution by Southern Republican Newspaper Association, 4 March 1867, Edward McPherson Papers, Correspondence of the Clerk of the House of Representatives, 1863–1875, Library of Congress.

44. Reprinted in *Mobile Advertiser and Register*, 4 March 1867.

45. Foner, *Reconstruction*, 310; Abbott, *Republican Party and the South*, 135–36.

46. Abbott, *Republican Party and the South*, 135.

47. Abbott, *Republican Party and the South*, 135; Nathans, *Losing the Peace*, 36.

Pope replaced many duly elected civil officers with Radical Republicans. However, the southern press "commenced immediately to denounce, in terms of unscrupulous and unqualified abuse," all persons who accepted such appointments. It became almost impossible to find men willing to carry both the burden of office and the wrath of the press. Instead of replacing all of the civil officials, Pope decided to place them under a gag order by prohibiting any civil officer from using his influence and position to interfere with reconstruction.[48] "This is free speech with a vengeance!" the *Macon Daily Telegraph* wrote. "It must be a bad cause whose opponents have to be gagged."[49]

But a gag on civil officers was only half a remedy. Pope also had to find a mechanism for gagging the disloyal press. Initially, he considered prohibiting the publication of material that abused or denounced the government or used personal epithets or "any abuse whatever that might tend to weaken the authority or bring into contempt or excite any feeling of ill-will toward any such officer."[50] But Pope never did issue the sedition order.

He did, however, adopt a strategy as old as the press itself: he denied disloyal newspapers the patronage of state and local printing contracts and legal advertising. In August 1867 he issued General Order No. 49, which prohibited officials from giving advertising to any newspaper that opposed or obstructed reconstruction.[51] His target was the district's Democratic papers as well as the conservative Republican papers.

The reaction of newspaper editors was immediate and rancorous. Editors claimed that without patronage, freedom of the press would be eviscerated. Pope countered by accusing conservative newspapers of having for too long used patronage, violence, and intimidation to silence loyal newspapers.[52] The editor of the *Jacksonville* (Alabama) *Republican*, a conservative paper, complained that the "oppressive nature of Gen. Pope's despotic order" had deprived the paper of its "legitimate patronage." He considered selling the paper "to retire altogether from the disgusting arena of modern politics, mixed up as it is with radicalism, leaguism and niggerism" but was unable to get a fair price. The editor published a smaller edition until the advertising was restored in June 1868. According to the editor, the *Jacksonville Republican* was but one of two to three hundred papers suffering in the district.[53] When the *Elmore Standard* of Wetumpka, Alabama, lost the county printing contract, the editor had to lease his equipment until advertising was restored.[54]

---

48. *Report of the Secretary of War, 1866–67*, 327, 325, 351.
49. Reprinted in *Florida Peninsular*, 19 October 1867.
50. Senate Executive Document No. 14, 40th Cong., 1st sess., 1868, 100–101.
51. *Report of the Secretary of War, 1866–67*, 325–26.
52. *Report of the Secretary of War, 1866–67*, 327.
53. Ellison, *Alabama Newspapers*, 90–91.
54. Ellison, *Alabama Newspapers*, 198.

One of the newspapers that gained as a result of Pope's press order was the *Mobile Nationalist*, a black Republican paper. The *Nationalist* ran an editorial informing civil officers in the surrounding counties that it was the only newspaper in which they could advertise because it was the only one to advocate congressional reconstruction.[55]

Governor Jenkins protested that the order violated a Georgia law that required legal notices such as sheriff's sales and probate proceedings to be published in the local newspaper. Pope countered that, because the laws of Georgia were subordinate to the laws of the United States, whatever validity state law had was at the sufference and toleration of the military commander. He assured Jenkins that official advertisements would continue to be published. "It is likely that the names of the newspapers and their course on reconstruction may be changed, but I think that these changes will not injuriously affect the interests of the people."[56]

Indicative of the lengths to which editors would go to ensure a flow of legal advertising was a notice placed by Augustus Burr in the *Macon Journal and Messenger*. Burr, who had suspended operation for two months because of lack of funds, announced to administrators, executors, and guardians that Pope's order applied only to public officers. As officers of the court, Burr said, "You are at liberty to select any journal you please for advertising over your own name."[57] Forsyth of the *Mobile Advertiser and Register* argued that while conservative papers may suffer monetary loss for a time, "they will triumph in the end" because the people would not allow the press to be starved out of existence.[58]

But, when Pope learned that Mobile's city fathers were allowing W. G. Clark, publisher of the *Advertiser and Register*, to work as city printer, he issued a special order deposing Clark.[59] Clark did not publicly report this incident until after Pope was removed as district commander.

Because the records of small newspapers in Georgia, Alabama, and Florida are incomplete, it is difficult to say what effect Pope's order had on the rural press. The names of papers did change, and doubtless some Democratic newspapers were forced either to sell out to Republican editors, or change their political tone. For example, the Democratic *Moulton* (Alabama) *Advertiser* was forced to suspend, and was replaced by the *Moulton Union*, a Republican campaign paper.[60] Pope's order did allow failing Republican newspapers to survive. The popularity of Pope's

55. *Mobile Advertiser and Register*, 17 September 1867.
56. *Report of the Secretary of War, 1866-67*, 328–29.
57. *Macon Journal and Messenger*, 11 September 1867.
58. *Mobile Advertiser and Register*, 12 and 27 September 1867.
59. *Mobile Advertiser and Register*, 31 December 1867.
60. Ellison, *Alabama Newspapers*, 144.

original order among Republicans in Alabama was sufficient that one of the first laws passed during the state's first legislative session in fall 1868 duplicated the order. Once again, Democratic newspapers criticized the law and called for its repeal.[61] Several years later, Republican legislators in Mississippi passed a similar bill, requiring that legal advertisements be printed only in "loyal" newspapers. Governor James Alcorn vetoed the bill, but in 1874 Governor Adelbert Ames did sign such a law in Mississippi.[62]

Pope fell out of favor with President Johnson, and in December 1867 was replaced by the more moderate Gen. George Meade. One of Meade's first acts was to modify Pope's newspaper patronage order. The revised order prohibited papers from receiving state public printing contracts if their editorials had threatened officers with violence or persecution or deliberately interfered with the military government. The provisions did not apply, however, if the county only had one newspaper. Meade reasoned that "opposition to reconstruction, when conducted in a legitimate manner, is not to be considered an offense."[63]

In April 1868, after numerous stories of Ku Klux Klan intimidation began to surface, Meade issued an order prohibiting the publication or circulation of incendiary materials of secret organizations. The order forbade newspapers from printing "inflammatory articles; or anything tending to produce intimidation, riot or bloodshed."[64] Meade's order was enough to chill the *Montgomery* (Alabama) *Daily Mail*'s comments about Meade's harsh style of justice. Said the editor, "The lips of our Alabama journals are pinned together with the bayonet and our hands are fastened in iron cuffs." The editor accused Meade of making "a Hell of Heaven." The commander in Alabama wanted the paper suppressed, but Meade refused.[65]

In Mobile, John Forsyth of the *Daily Register* said that Meade's order was just and impartial, but hoped that it and similar orders at the local level would include other secret organizations such as the Union League. The editor believed that the Union League was more mischievous than the Ku Klux Klan, calling it "quiet, silent, secret and dark in its movement . . . and deep, dangerous and deadly."[66]

During the fall of 1867, southern states elected delegates to their constitutional conventions. These conventions adopted constitutions that guaranteed black suffrage and office holding, and contained liberal policies in economics, education, and

---

61. *Mobile Daily Register*, 28 October 1869;
62. William C. Harris, *The Day of the Carpetbagger* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1979), 598.
63. House Executive Document No. 342, 40th Cong., 2d sess., 1868, 131.
64. *Mobile Daily Register*, 8 April 1868.
65. Sefton, *U.S. Army and Reconstruction*, 173.
66. *Mobile Daily Register*, 8 April 1868.

welfare that reflected the moderate Republican party's commitment to broad principles of social equality. Editors who endorsed the work of the conventions were labelled as "radicals." But as one editor stated, the issue was not whether there should be a convention or not, but whether the end result would be a good constitution or a bad one.[67]

When Alabama's constitutional convention had done its work, Forsyth described the resulting constitution as "the abomination of abominations . . . a law that enfranchises ignorance and disfranchises intelligence—a law, in a word, that prostrates to the earth the Caucasian master race and plants the foot of the semi-barbaric negro upon his breast in absolute supremacy." He called for white men everywhere to register to vote and defeat this detestable work of "scoundrels and ignorant negroes."[68]

But the liberal policies and principles that Republicans supported and Democrats abhorred rarely went beyond words on paper. White Republicans soon learned that, to remain in power, their party had to win over moderates and even conservatives by agreeing to interpret the new constitutions in the most conservative manner. These interpretations often left blacks unable to vote, hold office, qualify for homestead exemptions, sit on juries, enjoy equal educational opportunities or have access to public accommodations. Even some black politicians acquiesced in this bastardizing of "social equality." Uncomfortable with the political in-fighting, determined to keep the Republican party strong, and defiant against carpetbagger intrusion, blacks often voted for their former owners or for policies that they knew would weaken their position in southern politics.[69] In 1868 the *New Orleans Tribune*, the oldest black newspaper in the South, supported a former slave-owner for governor over a former Union officer. The idea of English-speaking northerners dictating the future of the state was reprehensible to many French-speaking blacks in Louisiana. Moderate Republicans, through Edward McPherson, punished the *Tribune* by having its printing patronage transferred to the white-owned *New Orleans Republican*. The *Tribune* ceased publication, leaving the party without a black newspaper in Louisiana to enjoy the spoils of patronage.[70]

The patronage dollar was fickle. Republican newspapers had to toe the correct party line or they could lose their contracts to another Republican paper. Often, if there were no Republican newspaper in the county, the local printing contract for legal notices would be let to a newspaper in a neighboring county. It was not uncommon for one Republican newspaper to have the printing patronage of several counties or to be contracted to

67. *Mobile Advertiser and Register*, 21 September 1867.
68. *Mobile Advertiser and Register*, 8 December 1867.
69. Foner, *Reconstruction*, 349–51.
70. For a history of the *Tribune*, see Jean-Charles Houzeau, *My Passage at the New Orleans Tribune* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1984).

print resolutions, laws, and speeches many months after they ceased to be of any interest.[71]

By ensuring itself a loyal press and by enfranchising former Confederate sympathizers, Republicans dominated the South from 1867 to 1868. By the time the fall 1868 presidential campaign approached, Republicans had agreed on a platform that supported a less severe reconstruction policy. In the South, the campaign turned violent as Republicans and blacks were harassed, terrorized, and murdered by white mobs and members of white supremacist organizations like the Ku Klux Klan. Violence was particularly ugly in rural areas dominated by Democrats.

Although Grant did carry the South, reconstruction and Republicanism were on the wane. To maintain their hold on state government, moderate Republican governors and legislatures began handing out patronage to Democrats as well as Republicans, increasing party rifts. But Republicans never managed to construct a cohesive and stable party in the South and eventually reconstruction began to fall apart. Democrats steadily undermined gains blacks had made since congressional reconstruction began. Black schools were closed, homestead exemptions nullified, property qualifications for office holding reinstated, segregation legalized, and poll taxes inaugurated. Elected offices became appointive. When legal means of subordinating blacks were not enough, violence and intimidation were used.[72]

In summary, during the first years of presidential reconstruction, local military commanders harassed or temporarily suspended over a dozen southern newspapers. Most of those activities resulted from criticism of the local military presence or, according to editors, unjust interference by northerners.

With the commencement of congressional reconstruction in March 1867, however, military interference with the press decreased, particularly in those districts commanded by officers sympathetic to the southern view that blacks' proper place was in the fields and not at the polls. During congressional reconstruction, commanders used political patronage to gain cooperation from southerners. But with the exception of Pope's limited withdrawal of patronage in Georgia, Alabama, and Florida, there is no evidence that the granting and withdrawing of printing contracts was practiced to any greater extent than normal for nineteenth-century politics.

The party nature of the post-war southern press was not an evil as Mott and Carter portrayed it, but a function of both politics and economics. While northern newspapers were moving slowly away from overt party affiliation, the party press was still a predominant feature of southern journalism. As in the eras of Jefferson and Jackson, the press and party were inseparable;

71. Harris, *Day of the Carpetbagger*, 597–99.
72. See, generally, Foner, *Reconstruction*.

often the politician and editor were one in the same. The southern party organ promoted political identity, party organization, and party loyalty at a critical time when the future of the South was so uncertain.

The southern newspaper was not a profit center. With little income from advertising or circulation, the reconstruction-era newspapers, particularly the Republican papers, depended almost entirely upon public printing contracts and legal advertising. Without this support, the post-war press of the South would have never been able to provide a diversity of political opinion—both Democratic and Republican—during those critical years.

●

THE CONSPIRACY OF SILENCE

Media Coverage of Syphilis, 1906–1941

Timothy Walters and Lynne Masel Walters

SINCE 1982 ACQUIRED IMMUNE Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) has made headlines everywhere. Incurable, expensive to treat, largely sexually transmitted and thus tied to debates about contemporary morality, AIDS is more than a medical concern. The disease, which has been called a modern plague, is entangled with moral, educational, legal, social, and political issues of enormous complexity.

AIDS is not unique in this; previous epidemics involving diseases such as cholera, tuberculosis, and typhoid fever also carried with them many nonmedical concerns. The closest parallel to AIDS, however, is found in a health crisis involving another sexually transmitted disease: the syphilis epidemic of the early twentieth century.

The public and institutional response to the two diseases has been strikingly similar because each disease has been as much a social problem as a medical issue. As with other social problems, such as alcoholism, criminal behavior, pollution, and mental illness, AIDS and syphilis passed through distinct developmental phases. In the earliest stage, when victims were relatively few and appeared to be confined to deviant subgroups, AIDS and syphilis each was seen as a moral problem, and the focus was on punishing the victims. In the middle stage of the epidemic, with more victims and broader patient populations, each disease was seen as a political and educational problem, and the focus was on controlling the epidemic. In later stages of the epidemic, when the disease found victims in the general population, both syphilis and AIDS were perceived as medical problems, and the focus shifted to treatment.

This study examines the media coverage of syphilis in the early twentieth century as an example of an evolving health-related social problem. Defining an epidemic as a disease entity that "at the same time affects a large number of persons in a

• • • • •

Timothy Walters is an assistant professor in the Department of Communication, Stephen F. Austin State University. He is completing his doctoral work in communication at the University of Texas. His thesis, "Untying the Cognitive Knot," examines the content of AIDS public service announcements. Lynne Masel Walters is an associate professor in the Department of Journalism at Texas A&M University. The co-author of *Bad Tidings: Communication and Catastrophe* (1989), she was director of public information at the Institute for Immunological Disorders, the nation's first hospital devoted solely to AIDS.

•

locality," we posit that coverage of such a phenomenon passes through several stages.[1] In the first stage, mediated messages, if they exist at all, take on moral overtones. In the second stage, the the media begin educating the public and covering the legal maneuvers aimed at containing the disease. In the third stage, the coverage focuses on the attempts to find medical treatments for the illness.

This study examines the role of the press in the syphilis epidemic, using health-related and general circulation periodicals published between 1906, when the Wassermann test was first administered, and 1941, when penicillin was introduced as a cure. All magazine articles on syphilis listed in *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature*, and on venereal or social diseases, were studied, as were all articles on those topics listed in the indices of four influential urban newspapers, the *New York Times*, *Chicago Tribune*, *Washington Post*, and *Los Angeles Times*. Topic headings directly referring to venereal disease did not appear in the indices until several years into the period under discussion. Thus, when we discovered a magazine or newspaper article or an event noted in a medical, social work, or public health publication, we examined our sample newspapers for the week before and after the article or report's publication date to see whether that article or event was covered.

The process by which social problems, like syphilis, evolve has been the subject of numerous studies. Using a definition that characterizes a social problem on the basis of deviation from a cherished social norm, researchers have examined the ways in which an environmental, moral, demographic, or economic situation becomes defined and recognized as a social problem.[2]

Only lately, however, have similar studies focused on health issues such as leprosy, alcoholism, and AIDS. This research indicates that when such a medical concern first intrudes upon the public consciousness, society is likely to stigmatize victims of the disease.[3] Ilse Volinn defines stigmatization as "a complex process of social interaction leading to rejection of persons with certain 'objectionable' characteristics."[4] It encourages the belief

1. *Random House Dictionary of the English Language* (New York: Random House, 1968), 444.

2. Glenn Strodthoff, Robert Hawkins and A. Clay Schoenfeld, "Media Roles in a Social Movement: A Model of Ideology Diffusion," *Journal of Communication* 35 (Spring 1978): 134–53; Richard Fuller and Richard Myers, "The Natural History of a Social Problem," *American Sociological Review* 6 (February 1940): 24–32; A. Clay Schoenfeld, Robert Meier, and Robert Griffin, "Constructing a Social Problem: The Press and the Environment, *Social Problems* 27(October 1979): 38–61; Gaye Tuchman, "Making News by Doing Work: Routinizing the Unexpected," *American Journal of Sociology* 79 (July 1973): 110–31.

3. Erving Goffman, *Stigma* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1963); Zachary Gussow and George S. Tracy, "Stigma and the Leprosy Phenonemon: the Social History of a Disease in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 46 (September-October 1970): 425.

4. Ilse Volinn, "Health Professionals as Stigmatizers and Destigmatizers of

that the disease and its victim violate contemporary moral standards and leads to the stereotyping of victims as deviant in their behavior or personal characteristics. As a result, patients are seen as responsible for their illness, a perspective Michael Teller calls "blaming the victim."[5]

As the health-related social problem evolves, the disease becomes legitimated. Familiarity with the disease increases as its victims grow in number and kind.[6] Zealous, articulate, and credible representatives of the health care community go public with discussions of their and others' work.[7] And events, such as the announcement of scientific breakthroughs, alarming statistics, or newly discovered patient populations, begin to demand public attention.[8]

As the emphasis shifts from the soul to the body, from moral failure to illness, the response to the crisis takes on a secular character. Human institutions, instead of the hand of God, are called upon to deal with the epidemic. In this stage, a disease becomes an educational and legal problem. Laws are proposed and passed, instructional programs designed and presented, all to control the victims' behavior and contain the disease.

Should this institutional response fail, as it frequently does, the epidemic is likely to move into stage called "medicalization."[9] In this stage, the focus is on attempts to find medical solutions for the illness and the deviant behavior or condition associated with it.[10] The disease becomes normalized and is now considered a routine health-care issue.[11] The moral imperative does not totally dissipate during this stage, nor do attempts to control the disease totally disappear. However, attention is increasingly devoted to its pharmacological and therapeutic solutions. These phases of a health care issue, delineated in previous studies, provide the basis for the three-stage typology used here to examine the evolution of the syphilis epidemic. In that evolution the mass media play a major role, for they serve as a major mechanism for popularizing and disseminating knowledge.[12] Strodthoff and his colleagues argue that media

Diseases: Alcoholism and Leprosy as Examples," *Social Science and Medicine* 17 (July 1983): 385–92.

5. Michael Teller, *The Tuberculosis Movement* (New York: Greenwood, 1988).

6. Volinn, "Health Professionals as Stigmatizers," 388–92.

7. Arnold Mauss, *Social Problems as Social Movements* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1980).

8. Roger Silverstone, "Science and the Media: The Case of Television," in *Images of Science: Scientific Practice and the Public*, ed. S. J. Doorman (Brookfield, Vt.: Gower, 1989), 187–218.

9. Edward Albert, "Illness and Deviance: The Response of the Press to AIDS," in *The Social Dimensions of AIDS*, ed. Douglas Feldman and Thomas Johnson (New York: Praeger, 1986), 164–94.

10. Peter Conrad and Joseph W. Schneider, *Deviance and Medicalization: From Badness to Sickness* (St. Louis: Mosby, 1980).

11. Volinn, "Health Professionals as Stigmatizers," 388–92.

12. R. Gordon Shepherd, "Science News of Controversy: The Case of Marijuana," *Journalism Monographs* 62 (August 1979).

organizations pass through three adaptive stages—disambiguation, legitimation, and routinization—as they process information about a maturing social issue. Information first appears in specialized publications, then over time moves to more broadly oriented media.[13] Other studies have attempted to explain the role of the media in transforming a social problem, but few have extended this model to medical situations. Those few generally have been written by scholars outside of communication and tend to be descriptive and atheoretical.[14]

The nature of syphilis as a disease helps to explain its evolution as a social problem. Syphilis is caused by the spirochete, *Treponema pallidum*. It is usually spread through sexual contact, but occasionally occurs congenitally by infection in the mother. Untreated venereal syphilis advances through three stages. Approximately 25 percent of those who are infected reach the tertiary stage; for one-half of those individuals, the disease is incapacitating or fatal. Among the manifestations of tertiary syphilis are sterility, paralysis, blindness, insanity, stroke, and degeneration of the aortic valves.

While syphilis has apparently been around since Biblical times, it was not until the early 1900s that significant advances were made in the diagnosis and treatment of the disease. In 1905 advancements in medical research allowed the German Fritz Schaudinn to isolate the germ that causes syphilis. One year later, his countryman August von Wassermann devised a simple, relatively accurate blood test for asymptomatic diagnosis. And, three years after that, German bacteriologist Paul Ehrlich developed the first pharmacological treatment for syphilis, the drug Salvarsan.[15]

Though syphilis is an illness and a medical concern, during the early years of the twentieth century, it was considered a moral problem by physicians, opinion leaders, policy makers, the public, and the press. In that Victorian era, American opinion on syphilis articulated a belief in restrictive sexual behavior. Sexual activity, it was contended, should be reserved for marriage and designed for procreation, and syphilis was assumed to be associated with neither. Rather, it was considered to be the result of the "irregular exercise of the sex function" and therefore "a disease of the immoral."[16] Syphilitics were thus seen as sinners, guilty of voluntarily indulging in the depraved behavior that resulted in their illness. This belief persisted despite the presence of "innocent" victims—monogamous men and women

13. Strodthoff, Hawkins, and Schoenfeld, "Media Roles," 134–53.
14. Terra Ziporyn, *Disease in the Popular American Press* (New York: Greenwood, 1988); Teller, *The Tuberculosis Movement*; Richard Malmsheimer, *Doctors Only: The Evolving Image of the American Physician* (New York: Greenwood, 1988); Andrew McClary, "Germs Are Everywhere: The Germ Threat As Seen in Magazine Articles 1890–1920," *Journal of American Culture* 3 (Fall 1980): 33–46.
15. Ziporyn, *Disease in the Press*, 119.
16. Ziporyn, *Disease in the Press*, 122.

given the disease by philandering spouses, and children exposed prenatally.

Americans also believed that syphilitics came from the "lower orders" of society. Prostitutes, recent immigrants, and the poor were assumed to be the most likely carriers of the disease. In the first years of the twentieth century, this was largely the case. Although the disease had made some inroads into the middle and upper classes, syphilis was generally restricted to population segments who were not part of "polite society."

Syphilis, then, was a problem for the unclean and of the unseen. The media in the early twentieth century reflected this moral disapproval of the disease and its victims. Before 1900 there were very few articles about syphilis in the popular press, a situation that continued until well after that date.[17] In fact, *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature* did not list syphilis or venereal disease as subject headings until 1907, and the *New York Times Index* not until a decade later.

The articles that did appear concerned attempts to impose the vision of acceptable moral behavior on those deemed most likely to violate it. An example is the coverage of the debate in New York City over clause 79 of the Page Law on the Courts of Inferior Jurisdiction. Eventually declared unconstitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court, this action was aimed at the city's prostitutes.[18] Under the law, a woman convicted of solicitation would be sent to a hospital for screening and treatment. If she tested positive for a venereal disease, the offender would be "sentenced" to a hospital for treatment. Discharge would be granted only upon certification of being disease-free.[19]

Other attempts were aimed at those who might suborn the public's desire and need for "fit marriages" that produced unspoiled new lives. These attempts involved new restrictions on matrimony. In Indiana, for example, starting in 1912, each applicant for a wedding license would be required to apply to a board of health. At that time, each would receive a "small, clear, concisely worded booklet, stating the dangers of venereal diseases or tuberculosis."[20] Each would be asked if he or she had a disease that would prevent marriage. If either prospective partner was found "syphilitic, gonorrheic or evidently tuberculous, a license should be refused and marriage denied."[21]

A further manifestation of the desire to regulate marriage was a 1914 Wisconsin law requiring physicians to sign a certificate definitively guaranteeing the absence of any venereal disease. For their services, physicians were legally restricted to a fixed fee

17. Ziporyn, *Disease in the Press*, 119–20.
18. "Communications," *Survey* 26 (12 August 1911): 702–3.
19. "The Common Welfare," *Survey* 25 (10 November 1910): 276–80.
20. G. W. Goler, "What Health Authorities Can Do to Prevent Venereal Disease through the Marriage License and Sex Education," in *Social Welfare Forum Official Proceedings* (Fort Wayne, Ind.: Social Welfare Forum, 1912), 304–6.
21. Goler, "What Health Authorities Can Do," 305.

of three dollars. This law produced a storm of protest. The *Wisconsin Medical Journal* said the marriage bill "asks impossibilities of the medical profession. . . . This is an intolerable situation, and the united profession should rise in protest."[22] Newspapers elsewhere also lambasted the Wisconsin legislature. The *Pittsburgh Dispatch* thought this "eugenic certificate" absurd because no one could be certified as disease-free. The *Jacksonville Times-Union* warned that "the only thing that the people of Wisconsin can do is stop marrying," while the *St. Joseph News Press* declared that "Wisconsin has reduced this eugenic business to an absurdity." Finally, the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, reflecting that "no one doubts that there should be a sane regulation of marriage," thought testing was "extreme." Perhaps in time, the *Inquirer* continued, "we may accustom ourselves to higher eugenics so that a law will embody this custom, but until then such a statute is worse than useless."[23]

The press's failure to run anything but spot news, or the periodical indexes' failure even to list articles on the topic, was due to a fairly strict prohibition against the mere mention of the word syphilis in newspapers and general-circulation magazines. "Catch phrases and code words" masked the effects of venereal diseases.[24] Throughout the period, writers of the occasional editorial and news story shrouded its discussion with the kind of euphemisms similar to those used in the coverage of the 1914 Wisconsin law. Syphilis was referred to as a "rare blood ailment" or "social disorder." The issue itself was discussed in terms of "eugenics" rather than disease.[25]

It was with these media strictures in mind that anti-syphilis crusader Dr. Prince A. Morrow chose his reform group's name—the New York Society of Sanitary and Moral Prophylaxis. Morrow purposely avoided words such as *venereal disease*, *syphilis*, or *gonorrhea*, for their use would have ended the already limited coverage of the organization and its cause.

One West Coast organization was somewhat more daring. The California Public Health Association called the group it founded in 1909 the California Association for the Study and Prevention of Syphilis and Gonorrhea. To choose a euphemistic name, as had the New York Society of Sanitary and Moral Prophylaxis, amounted, the Californians said, to a "repudiation of the primary aim of the society . . . that was an example of the 'conspiracy of silence' which the society had organized to deplore and combat."[26] Endowed with this sense of purpose, the

22. William F. Snow, "The Swing of the Pendulum on Sex Hygiene," *Survey* 32 (4 April 1914): 6
23. "Getting Married in Wisconsin," *Literary Digest* 48 (10 January 1914): 52–53.
24. Allan Brandt, *No Magic Bullet: A Social History of Venereal Disease in the United States since 1880* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 22.
25. Brandt, *No Magic Bullet*, 23.
26. "The Common Welfare," 831.

California society, headed by a woman physician, Dr. Francis M. Greene, held its first public meeting in January 1910. Despite the educational focus of this meeting and the presence of reporters from several newspapers, only the *Berkeley Independent* dared publish an account. "No account of the affair appeared the next day," said one observer, "owing to the fact that they dare not offend their readers by publishing the name of the association."[27]

The dearth of media coverage was due, in large measure, to the way in which the character, cause, and treatment of syphilis violated the tenets of Victorian sensibility. Indeed, the very nature of the disease, with its "distinctive traits of shame, secrecy and immorality," contradicted every professed notion of acceptable behavior during the Victorian age.[28] The discussion of syphilis's origins and effects was equally repulsive. Lamented Morrow, "Social sentiment holds that it is a greater violation of the proprieties of life to publicly mention venereal disease than privately to contract it." He added, "The mention of the disease is interdicted by the best forms of society."[29] Hence editors assumed that there was no interest in or market for articles about venereal diseases.[30]

Because the "best forms" of the Victorian era demanded that women be pure and innocent, the exposure of women to information on syphilis was discouraged. Even many physicians and health educators thought that women should remain ignorant of the cause and symptoms of venereal disease. For example, while Dr. George Whiteside, writing in the *Journal of the American Medical Association*, called for "very early education regarding syphilis for boys," he found the education of girls "a different matter." He said that girls should "understand their anatomy and physiology," but concluded, "let us spare the sympathetic sensibilities of girls of the better class. Why tell them of venereal disease or loathsome perversion of sexual desire."[31]

Not only would accounts of syphilis have run afoul of Victorian respectability, they also would have run afoul of the law. In 1873 federal legislation was passed making unmailable "every obscene, lewd or lascivious and every filthy book, picture, paper, letter, writing, print, or other publication of an indecent character."[32] Known as the Comstock Law, after its initiator, anti-vice crusader Anthony Comstock, the rule was extended to

27. "The Common Welfare," 832.
28. Prince Morrow, "Prophylaxis of Social Diseases," *American Journal of Sociology* 13 (July 1907): 20–33.
29. Prince Morrow, "The Relations of Social Diseases to the Family," *American Journal of Sociology* 15 (March 1909): 622–35.
30. Ziporyn, *Disease in the Press*, 155.
31. George Whiteside, "What Should We Teach the Public Regarding Venereal Disease," *Journal of the American Medical Association* 47 (20 October 1906): 1252–53.
32. Lynne Masel-Walters, "For the Poor Mute Mothers?: Margaret Sanger and *The Woman Rebel*," *Journalism History* 10 (Autumn 1983): 1–10.

information regarding syphilis when Margaret Sanger attempted to distribute her pamphlet "What Every Girl Should Know" by mail in 1912. Sanger's publication was confiscated by the U.S. Post Office not for its discussion of birth control, the cause that drove Sanger's life, but for its discussion of venereal disease, specifically the use of the words *gonorrhea* and *syphilis*.[33]

Ironically, medical personnel contributed to the dearth of media coverage. Many physicians interpreted their code of professional ethics to preclude public discussion of what they considered an essentially private disorder. Publicity smacked of advertising and advertising smacked of quackery.[34] Physicians, who were just emerging from the shadow of the medicine show, were unlikely to get involved with any media coverage that might shatter the fragile image of ethical professionalism.[35] In addition, physicians admitted to hiding the diagnosis from their patients and hospitals to underreporting syphilis as a cause of death. "It has been our custom," said Dr. Albert Carrier of his fellow physicians, "to tell a part of the truth only in regard to venereal infections, to apologize for not telling the whole truth, and to cover what we did tell with a coloring that has robbed these afflictions of their appalling nature."[36] In this way, health care professionals and institutions prevented journalists from comprehending the magnitude of the venereal epidemic.

Whatever the reason for their inattention, most publications refused to carry information regarding the cause and effects of syphilis in the first decade of the twentieth century. Morrow and other physicians called this "the conspiracy of silence."[37] To be sure, there were a few nonconspirators. Some Progressive social welfare journals, including *Charities and Commons* and *Survey*, carried accounts of the epidemic. Yet the only mainstream publication to cover syphilis was *Ladies' Home Journal*. In 1906 editor Edward Bok published a series of articles about venereal disease that was applauded by medical personnel, but decried by many readers. In fact, the *Journal* is reputed to have lost some seventy-five thousand subscribers as a result of these articles.[38] Even this crusading editor refused to call the disease by its proper name. Instead of using the terms *syphilis*, *gonorrhea*, or *venereal disease*, Bok alluded to an illness of "immorality" that had "darkened the sight of thousands of babies.[39]

The negative response to Bok's series led Morrow to despair, "Not a signboard! Not a caution spoken above a whisper! All

33. Masel-Walters, "For the Mothers,"1–10.
34. Lois and Selma Debakey, "Media and Medicine," in *Encyclopedia of Bioethics*, ed. Warren T. Reich, et. al. (New York: Free Press, 1978), 1:180–88.
35. Clark C. Havinghurst, "Advertising by Medical Professionals," in *Encyclopedia of Bioethics*, 1:44–48.
36. Brandt, *No Magic Bullet*, 23.
37. Morrow, "Prophylaxis of Social Disease," 30–33.
38. Brandt, *No Magic Bullet*, 23.
39. Brandt, *No Magic Bullet*, 23.

mystery and seclusion."[40] Over time Morrow and others came to realize that, due to the influence of laws, morality, and medicine, "the newspaper press, the most powerful of all agencies of publicity, is not available, at least for the present."[41] Thus, they were forced to spread their message through books, pamphlets, leaflets, and lectures in schools, colleges, and social organizations. To make syphilis a more palatable topic for public discussion, educational advocates linked it with diseases such as tuberculosis. All were infections; all were "dangerous to life or detrimental to health."[42] By lumping them together, by cloaking venereal disease with "a semi-respectability," local boards of health hoped to gain control of the medical agenda.[43] Then, perhaps, the public would notice the venereal epidemic.

Morrow's group hoped for several results. First, they hoped to overcome the aversion to public discussion, so that individuals would begin to appreciate the significance of this plague. Second, they wanted to begin testing, a process that would produce a more accurate picture of the spread of the disease. Third, they planned to provide and distribute circulars under the auspices of the board of health. Finally, they wished to provide free labs for those who could not afford testing.[44] By making boards of health the keystone, Morrow and other reformers hoped that education could be carried forward despite the media inattention. As Morrow said, "The role of muck-raker is considered neither dignified nor desirable, . . . delving in the filth of human weakness and depravity is unsavory, even repulsive; it can be undertaken only from a sense of duty, but the muck is there and needs to be raked."[45]

As the century entered its second decade, the muck created by syphilis deepened. One 1910 estimate indicated a possible 2,431,988 cases among a population of 47,332,277 males in the United States.[46] Other estimates were even more pessimistic. Speaking before a 1915 meeting of the Society of Sanitary and Moral Prophylaxis, Dr. William F. Snow gloomily reported that "men of unquestioning integrity, scientific standing and wide experience estimate that syphilis successfully attacks from 10 to 15 percent of the men of American cities . . . [and] that some 50 percent of sterile marriages are due to syphilis and gonorrhea."[47]

While action by state and local boards of health and more scientific research might help, the crying need was for "pitiless

40. Ziporyn, *Disease in the Press*, 29.
41. Morrow, "Prophylaxis of Social Disease," 31.
42. Prince Morrow, "Control of Venereal Diseases," *Survey* 28 (1 June 1912): 364–66.
43. Morrow, "Control of Venereal Diseases," 364–66.
44. Morrow, "Control of Venereal Diseases," 364–66.
45. Brandt, *No Magic Bullet*, 25.
46. Charles E. Banks, "Venereal Disease," *Health Service Reports* 30 (26 February 1915): 622.
47. "Men, Women, Children and Venereal Disease," *Survey* 34 (29 May 1915): 192.

publicity."[48] Accurate information must become a normal "gossip" of daily life, a regular part of newspaper coverage.[49] As Dr. W. A. Evans of Chicago urged:

> This gossip must relate to facts, must be instructive and humanly elevating. This type of gossip must take the place of the misleading, misinforming gossip based upon the advertisements of venereal disease quacks and venereal disease remedies. It must replace the vicious gossip of the street and the scandal-mongering gossip of the dressing-room.[50]

Replacing the spread of vicious gossip had been the goal of sex hygienists since Morrow took his fledgling steps in 1905. Eleven years later, this effort stood at a crossroads. In 1916 Morrow's New York Society of Sanitary and Moral Prophylaxis refined both its name and goals. Still employing code words, the name was changed to the New York Social Hygiene Society. The new goals included clinics for people of moderate income and an educational agenda that promoted a "wider presentation of social hygiene before the schools, the churches, the forums and the homes of the city."[51] Also in the plan was a "campaign for further legislation" aimed at ending "venereal quack advertising."[52]

The group's two-fold campaign of education and legislation mirrored that being conducted on the battlefields of Europe. With the United States on the brink of entering the war, the focus of concern about syphilis shifted. Although never disappearing entirely, concerns about morality gave way to concerns about national safety. Questions now were raised about the effect of syphilis on the fighting readiness of the American army. The results of Wassermann tests administered to West Point cadets and recently enlisted men indicated that over 5 percent of the West Point Cadets were syphilitic. The percentages for the enlisted men in the U.S. Army were even worse—16 percent for white men and 35 percent for blacks.[53]

Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson called that record "shameful beyond that of the army of any other civilized nation."[54] To combat the problem, Stimson had helped introduce a program of screening and education. Now Congress enacted further legislation stopping the pay of officers and enlisted men during periods when they were disabled by venereal disease.[55]

Along with raising anxieties about national security, the Wassermann results also led to the recognition that syphilis was

48. "Men, Women, Children," 192.
49. "Health Knowledge for One and All," *Survey* 35 (16 October 1915): 71.
50. "Men, Women, Children," 192.
51. "Pioneer Society with a New Program," *Survey* 36 (22 April 1916): 92.
52. "Pioneer Society," 92.
53. "Pioneer Society," 92.
54. "Venereal Diseases in American Army," *Survey* 29 (25 January 1913): 529.
55. "Venereal Diseases in American Army," 529.

no longer restricted to groups out of the mainstream of polite society. Syphilis was increasingly being found in broader population pools, rippling out from the core of "undesirables" who first fell prey to the disease. The new syphilis victim was as likely to be the boy next door as a lady of the evening. Thus policy makers, physicians, the public, and the press found it counterproductive to blame the syphilis victim when that individual was likely to be responsible for protecting the country's interests. The issue of deviancy, which affected coverage during the earlier period, did not disappear altogether. Notions of morality continued to remain viable, but they were overlaid with wartime rhetoric.

With war raging on the continent, private and public authorities took steps to contain the spread of syphilis in the American army. In April 1918, President Woodrow Wilson pledged that soldiers "will be returned to the homes and the communities that so generously gave them with no scars except those won in honorable conflict."[56] Because honorable conflict did not include visits to prostitutes, the Surgeon General of the Army, with the help of the War Department Commission on Training Camp Activities, developed a plan to limit sexual risk. Its features included the education of the men; repression of prostitutes; provision of healthy, constructive recreation; prophylaxis or early treatment if exposed; punishment of those who failed to take prophylaxis; and treatment of those who came into the services already infected.[57]

On the home front, prevention became a matter of national defense. "A soldier who is bedridden from a social disease is as much a casualty as if he were bedridden from wounds," as one writer noted. "To prevent the spread or syphilis at home and win the war overseas, cities should maintain free venereal clinics where all who are afflicted can be treated. Wards in local hospitals should be rented or beds provided at city, town or county expense. Detention homes in the country, where chronic prostitutes should be sent and cured should be provided. There they should be taught a new trade, to be self-supporting, and given a new start."[58]

Noble as the intentions of these programs might have been, there was a major problem: How to spread the news to the public? Massachusetts Bishop Lawrence was concerned with just this issue. He believed that the newspaper conspiracy of silence fostered the army-born plagues. Lawrence pledged himself to "drag the facts out into the open." He began his campaign with an address in spring 1918 before the Harvard Medical School, an address printed in full in the 9 March issue of the

56. Raymond B. Fosdick, "The Fight against Venereal Disease," *New Republic* 17 (30 November 1918): 132–34.
57. Fosdick, "Fight against Venereal Disease," 132–34.
58. Graham F. Blandy, "The Nation's Danger," *Survey* 40 (6 July 1918): 407.

Living Churchman and the 16 March issue of the *Churchman*. In his address, Bishop Lawrence issued a challenge:

> I challenge the newspapers of this country, those with great circulation, to place upon their front page not two or three startling statements with sensational head-lines, but such a succinct statement of the facts as the Medical Departments of the Army and Navy are ready to give them, revealing the conditions of society in relation to the Army. It is a war-question as vital as food and fuel. They say that the people do not like such facts; they offend their taste. Let the people try the people.[59]

The press did take up this challenge by covering the threat to national security posed by syphilis and did cover educational efforts. But newspapers and magazines themselves did not conduct educational efforts. Their sense of rhetorical delicacy and the taint of social deviance still made such efforts distasteful to the press. Thus general-circulation periodicals were content to leave education to other media, such as the slide show, public speech, or brochure. Use of these media had been widespread. Nearly three million leaflets entitled "Come Clean" had been distributed by selective service boards and boards of instruction for those who had been called up. Just before the armistice was signed, lecturers spoke to approximately four hundred thousand men warning them of the danger of a last fling. After armistice, 1.5 million pamphlets were sent to physicians, lawyers, ministers, mayors, and prominent citizens urging them to continue the battle against syphilis begun in the armed services.[60]

After the war, some wondered whether the war-driven anti-syphilis momentum would be carried forward.[61] To coordinate, support and facilitate public efforts in the postwar period, Congress passed the Army Appropriation Bill, Public Law 193, on 9 July 1919. This bill created an Interdepartmental Social Hygiene Board, consisting of the secretaries of War, Navy and Treasury, and established a Division of Venereal Diseases in the United States Public Health Service. The "program of attack" for this new division was to help existing state bureaus for venereal disease control and to invite the creation of such bureaus in states that lacked them. An inducement was a promise of federal funding, which ranged from $99,090 for New York State to $1,587 for Montana.[62]

Local programs were to 1) create clinics for treatment and reporting, 2) educate the public about disease and control, 3)

59. "Bishop Lawrence's Crusade," *Literary Digest* 57 (25 May 1918): 32.
60. "Demobilization and Social Agencies," *Survey* 41 (7 December 1918): 305–8.
61. Maj. Wilbur S. Sawyer, "Venereal Disease Control in the Military Forces," *American Journal of Public Health* 9 (March 1919): 337–39.
62. C. C. Pierce, "Venereal Disease Control: Methods, Obstacles and Results," *American Journal of Public Health* 10 (February 1920): 132–37.

legally suppress prostitution, and 4) detain those dangerous to the public health. One of the clinic's most important functions was education. The clinic was to become the center for the distribution of literature, and the clinic's medical officer was to speak "before all manner of citizen organizations" and secure "as much proper newspaper publicity as . . . is needed."[63]

Nationally, the Division of Venereal Diseases of the Public Health Service was to carry out a parallel educational plan to combat age-old misconceptions, provide accurate information, arouse interest and cooperation, and make the teaching of sexual hygiene possible. Hygiene was to be part of biological studies, "so that children will learn the essential facts . . . without having the subject made unduly prominent in their minds."[64] By 1920 the various state boards of health and the Public Health Service had prepared and distributed more than fourteen million pieces of literature, mostly leaflets, on venereal disease.[65] Reflecting on the state of the education campaign, J. E. Rush, special consultant to the health service, noted in 1920 that to "have mentioned syphilis . . . in a mixed audience would have been to be branded as a social outcast; today we may speak to selected audiences . . . but we are far from the millennium."[66]

If educational efforts and voluntary measures failed, apprehension, isolation, and forced treatment were available. The first line of defense was enforcement of state laws, state board of health regulations, or city ordinances. If these failed, the federal government stood ready to act. Using its authority to regulate commerce, Congress had authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to prevent the spread of contagious diseases in interstate commerce. Venereal diseases became part of those regulations. In November 1918, the Secretary of the Treasury added amendment 7, making it a misdemeanor to travel between states while infectious. Amendment 7 might be directed only toward prostitutes, but it could be applied to *any* infected person.

For a while, the law was not enforced, but on 21 April 1921, the attorney general issued a letter to all United States attorneys, advising them that the federal government wanted vigorous enforcement and prosecution. The law stated that an infectious person might travel from one state to another only to seek treatment, and a permit from a health officer in his home jurisdiction was required for such travel. If an infectious person who was liable to be a "menace" traveled without getting a release from a health officer, he could be arrested, tried, and sentenced to jail.[67] In 1921 the first enforcement attempts began

63. Pierce, "Venereal Disease Control," 133.
64. Pierce, "Venereal Disease Control," 134.
65. Pierce, "Venereal Disease Control," 134.
66. J. E. Rush, "Critical Comment on Current Methods of Public Education in Venereal Disease," *American Journal of Sociology* 27 (November 1921): 325–33.
67. David Robinson, "Control of Venereally Diseased Persons in Interstate Commerce," *Public Health Reports* 36 (9 September 1921): 2210–15.

in Fort Smith, Arkansas. Eight persons were convicted of coming into Arkansas from Oklahoma without complying with regulations, and sentenced to six months in an Iowa reformatory.[68]

The resort to such a solution reflected a feeling that wartime-generated education programs had fallen into disuse. Even professionals were affected. In 1922 the New York Charity Organization Society's subcommittee on venereal disease examined about four hundred case records to study their treatment program. What they found was disturbing. Social workers did not recognize the disease or know how to handle it. There was little money for treating cases that were adequately diagnosed. Only two hospitals in the city would take bed cases, and there was no place for chronic long-term care.[69] The idea of "physician's responsibility," in which physician and patient cooperated, did not work with syphilis.[70] There were too many uncooperative civilian patients.

The public education campaign had diminished, too. From 1919 to 1922, almost every category of information distributed by the U.S. Public Health Service had declined: total requests declined from 251,981 to 85,891, total pamphlets distributed from 14,138,348 to 2,280,326, lectures and addresses from 8,209 to 6,931, motion-pictures showings from 1,398 to 1,188, articles furnished to magazines from 3,228 to 9, periodicals received containing articles from 157 to 12, and the circulation of those articles from 4,470,756 to 126,600.[71]

The fading interest was not due to any fading of the disease. Of the more than forty-seven thousand Wassermann tests administered in the United States in the mid-1920s, over 10 percent were positive. The results ranged from lows of .2 percent for students at the University of Minnesota to a high of over 24 percent for black women in rural Mississippi and oriental prisoners at San Quentin.[72] Indeed, in 1927 syphilis led four other contagious diseases, including tuberculosis, in the data that thirty-nine states contributed to the Public Health Service's annual report.[73] The whole direction of the American anti-syphilis movement, which stressed education and legislation over treatment, was in jeopardy. "We who have laid stress on education" said the report, "are directly challenged to prove the brochure, the leaflet, the lecture, the lantern slide and the movie film, the

68. Robinson, "Control of Venereally Diseased Persons," 2214.
69. Lesley W. Funkhouser, "A Study of Venereal Disease Cases," *Survey* 48 (15 August 1922): 624–25.
70. W. A. Evans et al., "Venereal Diseases," *American Journal of Public Health* 15 (September 1925): 539; R. S. Dixon, "Venereal Disease Activities in Detroit," *American Journal of Public Health* 16 (July 1926): 809–10.
71. "Committee Report on Venereal Disease," *American Journal of Public Health* 13 (September 1923): 723–37.
72. Harold S. Diehl, "Wassermann Reactions in College Students," *American Journal of Public Health and the Nation's Health* 21 (October 1931): 1131–35.
73. Editorial Committee, "The Venereal Disease Problem," *American Journal of Public Health* 17 (April 1927): 380.

parent-teacher league, the play-ground and social worker, on which hundreds of thousands of dollars have been spent, can compare in efficacy with an equal sum on arsphenamine and syringes and the personnel to use them."[74]

The precarious state of the movement was due in part to the failure of the mass media to continue to address the epidemic after the reintegration of the war veteran into civilian society. At the start of the 1930s, the American effort to solve the syphilis riddle remained largely the domain of physicians and sociologists, not journalists. There were brochures, pamphlets, leaflets, clinics, and slide shows and exhibits for small audiences. Still, there was no wide-scale discussion. Newspapers and magazines continued to refer to syphilis with code words like *eugenics*, and movie producers were afraid that merely mentioning the word *syphilis* would mean suppression. Nor would the word be heard over the radio.[75]

Not until 1929 did the dam spring a leak. In that year the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* mentioned syphilis in a report of a St. Louis meeting of the National Society for the Prevention of Blindness.[76] Two years later, the Massachusetts Society for Social Hygiene aired "Some Diseases We Don't Talk About and Why Not" over WBZ and WBZA. Representatives also gave a five-minute talk on syphilis on WNAC. During the early 1930s, the leak became a trickle as other publications began mentioning syphilis by name. *Scientific American* covered a 1931 meeting of the Society for the Prevention of Blindness. The ensuing article quoted experts who argued that mass education "of our population is what we need and that will never be achieved while the present hush-hush attitude prevails."[77] The editors concluded, "we have spoken frankly but not indelicately. . . . The more others speak as frankly, the more chance will scientists have to combat blindness which occurs as the result of metasyphilitic disease."[78]

In 1935, the *Chicago Tribune* ran three full-page articles on syphilis in its Sunday editions. The *New York Daily News* put on a full-scale campaign to publicize syphilis with stories, editorials, and cartoons. One of the features was a series of articles by Carl Warren, which was later bound into a pamphlet. Priced at a nickel, *Venereal Diseases and Prophylaxis*, offered by the *News* information bureau, sold more than five-hundred thousand copies within days.[79] Both the *Herald Tribune* and the *Times* began putting syphilis into their headlines.[80] "A dastardly disease is

74. John H. Stokes, "Venereal Disease Control," *Journal of the American Medical Association* 90 (10 March 1928): 743–47.
75. "Great Pox," *Time* 28 (26 October 1926): 60–64.
76. "Great Pox," 63.
77. "Our Point of View," *Scientific American* 144 (January 1931): 13.
78. "Our Point of View," 13.
79. "Prophylaxis Publicity," *Time* 27 (23 March 1936): 57; "New St. George for Modern Dragon," *Literary Digest* 122 (31 October 1936): 18–19.
80. "Biggest Problem," *Time* 27 (27 January 1936): 40–41.

syphilis," said a *Scientific American* article, "a name that many persons do not like to speak or print or read. Syphilis must . . . be read about and heard about so that this deadly foe can be vanquished. Refusing to name the enemy ends in defeat, not conquest."[81]

This new direction did not go unnoticed. The Pulitzer Prize Committee awarded the *Daily News* an honorable mention for the Warren stories. Cited "for its campaign covering venereal diseases and prophylaxis," the *Daily News* was recognized for "the most disinterested and meritorious public service rendered by an American newspaper" during 1936.[82] That tangible service had produced a dramatic rise in patient treatments in the city. Following these articles, clinic visits jumped dramatically: 82 percent more people were examined at New York City Bureau of Social Hygiene clinics than before the series, 47 percent more were treated for syphilis; 321 percent more were treated for gonorrhea.[83] Indeed, all over the country newspaper coverage increased. Experts estimated that 50 percent of daily newspapers in the country had covered the issue between 1936 and 1937.

Operating the floodgates was Dr. Thomas Parran, Jr. Plucked from his position as New York State Health Commissioner, Parran was made Surgeon General by President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1936. Aided by an eight million dollar grant allotted by the Social Security Act, Parran crisscrossed the country, speaking before organizations like the American Public Health Association. His message was clear: "The next battle of the medical profession is against syphilis."[84] His mission was also clear. He wanted to get the anti-syphilis message into popular magazines and newspapers. In his 1936 *Reader's Digest* article, "Why Don't We Stamp Out Syphilis?" Parran argued that "we might virtually stamp out this disease were we not hampered by the widespread belief that nice people don't talk about syphilis, that nice people don't have syphilis, and that nice people shouldn't do anything about those who *do* have syphilis."[85]

Offered as a reprint, Parran's article caused an immediate stir. More than fifteen hundred organizations ordered 276,021 reprints in the first three months following publication.[86]

Parran played a critical role in ending the "conspiracy of silence" over syphilis, for he was largely responsible for "medicalizing" the disease. In his speeches and articles and in the legislation he proposed, Parran emphasized that syphilis was a medical not a moral issue, that its victims deserved treatment

81. "Eradication of Syphilis Possible," *Scientific American* 154 (May 1936): 277.
82. "Newspapers and Venereal Disease Control," *American Journal of Public Health* 27 (27 September 1937): 958.
83. "Newspapers and Venereal Disease Control," 958.
84. "Great Pox," 60.
85. Thomas Parran, "Why Don't We Stamp Out Syphilis?" *Readers' Digest* 15 (July 1936): 65–73. Italics in original.
86. "Great Pox," 63.

rather than blame, and that the disease was caused by a germ not a lifestyle. Parran, it might be said, also "popularized" the disease by finding it a place in the American consciousness congruent with the beliefs of the larger culture.[87] One such belief in the mid-1930s was the likelihood of treatment and cure. A new notion of continuous medical progress had been bolstered by the century's victories over yellow fever, typhoid fever, cholera, and tuberculosis. Those victories opened the door to increased coverage by newspapers and magazines.

The opening was pushed wider by statistics showing that one out of every ten Americans would contract syphilis at some point in his or her life.[88] These statistics, which indicated the prevalence of the disease and its presence in all social sectors, were viewed with alarm by the public and the press. The figures also concerned the government. Noting the possibility of American involvement in another European war, Parran felt compelled to do something about syphilis. Through his personal presence and by his pronouncements, Parran put the medical treatment of syphilis on the media's agenda. He was, in fact, hailed as the "New St. George for [a] Modern Dragon" and given the lion's share of the credit for lifting the taboo against media discussion of syphilis.[89] According to *Newsweek*, Parran, "leading a one-man crusade against moral 'ostrichism,' . . . hammered home fearful statistics that made public opinion jell."[90] Even so, Parran could not succeed as a lone soldier. Provisions of the Social Security Act had spelled that out, stating that "united and sustained effort by all health officers is necessary and will be achieved. The [battle against] syphilis is a national one."[91]

Others followed Parran's lead. *Reader's Digest* published articles entitled "Combatting Early Syphilis," "Syphilis Can Be Stamped Out," and "A Compulsory Test for Syphilis Before Marriage." More dramatically, in September 1937 an airplane towed a banner reading "Chicago, Fight Syphilis—Vote Today," calling attention to a questionnaire sent to one million Chicagoans asking whether they would like to be given free syphilis tests by their own physicians. To set an example, both doctors and civic leaders submitted to public blood tests.[92] By 15 September, more than one hundred thousand had replied; 95 percent had said yes. The National Youth Administration organized a children's crusade.[93] And, "a parade of 1,500 boys and girls in the city's busy Loop carried banners proclaiming that 'Chicago will

87. Leah Lievrouw, "Communication and the Social Representation of Scientific Knowlege," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 7 (March 1990): 1.
88. "Syphilis Tests," *Time* 28 (30 October 1938): 37.
89. "New St. George," 18–19.
90. "Syphilis: Conference in Washington Hits Taboos and Insufficient Funds," *Newsweek* 9 (9 January 1937): 40.
91. "Social Hygiene," *Survey* 73 (March 1937): 86.
92. "The Public's Health," *Survey* 73 (November 1937): 357.
93. "Fighting Syphilis," *Literary Digest* 124 (18 September 1937): 7.

stamp out syphilis.'"[94] Even the stodgy Chicago Medical Society threw in its support, pledging the assistance of its five hundred thousand members. In Alabama free drugs were given to physicians for the treatment of poor patients.[95] The State Charities Aid Association of New York awarded thirty-seven thousand dollars for a syphilis education program outside New York City. And the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor published a bulletin, "Syphilis—and the 'Conspiracy of Silence.'"[96] A 1937 Gallup poll showed that 87 percent of the respondents would take a Wassermann test.[97]

Despite the mid-1930s successes with newspapers, radio remained a difficult target. In 1934 the National Broadcasting Company refused to allow New York Health Commissioner Dr. John Levi Rice to use the prohibited word on the air. Not long afterwards, Columbia Broadcasting likewise prevented then State Health Commissioner Parran from doing the same. The broadcasters said that a "family or mixed social group might be shocked by mention of syphilis" and so criticize the networks.[98] As late as 1937, the air wave taboo was still enforced. In November 1937 General Hugh Samuel Johnson had prepared to address the nation on NBC on the topic "Public Enemies 1 & 2—the two Social or Venereal Diseases called Syphilis & Gonorrhea."[99] But when it came time to speak, Johnson strode to the microphone and told the nearly seventeen million listeners: "I came to the studio tonight prepared with a speech in support of the Surgeon General Parran of the United States Public Health Service in his crusade against social diseases. A few minutes before I was to go on the air, I was informed that the discussion was not in accord with the policies of the National Broadcasting Company. Thank you and good night."[100] With that, orchestra music filled Johnson's allotted fifteen minutes.

What was the problem? Some thought it a matter of word choice. On 22 November, Dr. Morris Fishbein had spoken over those same airwaves, more discreetly: "All of us ought to know that there is not just one one, there are several diseases affecting the organs and tissues of men and women concerned with childbirth or in intimate personal relations. . . . The vast majority of cases of infection with the venereal diseases represent intimate contacts."[101] Critics thought this policy requiring proper phraseology absurd. One questioned whether the mention of sexual activity and disease to mixed audiences was any more offensive than advertisements for Eno's Salts, "which emptied

94. "Plague Fighters," *Survey* 73 (September 1937): 296.
95. "Fighting Syphilis," 7.
96. "Plague Fighters," 296.
97. "Plague Fighters," 296.
98. "Biggest Problem," 40.
99. "Proper Phraseology," *Time* 30 (29 November 1937): 53.
100. "Proper Phraseology," 53.
101. "Proper Phraseology," 53.

the lower bowel," or Ex-Lax, touted for its "magnificent rear action."[102] Some critics believed money was the real issue. Radio stations took their cues from advertisers who paid the bills. Because legitimate syphilis cures were not patent medicine, they were not advertised, and because they were not advertised on radio, the disease was not discussed on the airwaves.[103]

Despite the unwillingness of NBC and CBS to let Parran's message reach the airwaves, others helped. A big boost was provided by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company. In 1928 it had made history by running an advertisement called "The Great Imitator," which used plain English to expose the dangers of syphilis.[104] A decade later, Metropolitan resurrected the campaign under the title of "The Next Great Plague to Go." In crisp language, the advertisement described how syphilis was spread, how it killed, and how one could get treated. It also directed potential carriers to physicians, who could administer the test. Should readers have any questions, a postcard would bring a free copy of the Metropolitan booklet.[105]

By early 1938 public opinion had been swayed. A Gallup survey revealed that 90 percent of those polled favored a government bureau to distribute information, 88 percent wanted government clinics, 77 percent called for free treatment of all persons affected, 73 percent thought punishment of slackers was acceptable, 93 percent approved of premarital tests, and 87 percent were willing to take the Wassermann test.[106] Buoyed by a rising tide of public opinion, Surgeon General Parran pushed Congress for twenty-five million dollars to *begin* a program of education and treatment. He did not get what he asked for. Congress appropriated three million dollars for fiscal year 1938, five million for 1939, and seven million for 1940. Despite his failure to get the total amount, Parran had succeeded. With the help of newspapers and magazines, he had spread the message. No longer could people simply shut their eyes and do nothing. The word *syphilis* was no longer taboo. Fully 79 percent of the general public thought the Surgeon General should get the entire appropriation he wanted; Parran had clearly turned the tide of public opinion.[107]

Parran could not have turned the tide without the help of the media. By its extensive coverage of syphilis in the late 1930s, the press helped Parran normalize the epidemic, banish the taboo against discussion of the disease, and remove the stigma of deviancy from those who suffered from it. Press coverage al-

102. Anthony M. Turano, "Syphilis: Mrs. Gundy's Disease," *American Mercury* 40 (18 April 1937): 400–409.
103. Turano, "Syphilis: Mrs. Gundy's Disease," 400–409.
104. "For War on Social Diseases," *Business Week* 8 (30 October 1937): 34.
105. "The Next Great Plague to Go," *Literary Digest* 72 (29 January 1938): 15.
106. "Youth Declares War," *Literary Digest* 125 (1 January 1938): 13–15.
107. "Youth Declares War," 14.

lowed the public to perceive syphilis as a medical problem, subject to therapeutic treatment. Public will and government action and health policies would now help Americans hold the line against syphilis until a medical cure was found.

The medical problem covered by the press of Parran's time was the moral problem ignored by the press of Morrow's time. In the first two decades of the twentieth century, when the disease was largely confined to subgroups thought deviant, the media treated syphilis as a moral stigma. Press coverage of syphilis was minimal, and stories that did appear were spot news devoid of medical terms and information, and filled with euphemisms for the disease and moralistic admonishments aimed at those presumed likely to contract it. During the years surrounding World War I, legislative and educational efforts designed to protect American soldiers were covered extensively in the press. It was not until the 1930s, when Parran began his crusade and the epidemic spread to all population segments, that the "conspiracy of silence" disintegrated. Extensive coverage of syphilis by newspapers and magazines let the public see that they were affected in a concrete way by the disease.

The media, then, seem to play a critical role in the public awareness and understanding of an epidemic. They help destigmatize a disease and allow the public to focus on the medical dimensions of the illness. Media coverage also helps create a perception of personal involvement in the issue. Both factors encourage public support for a major campaign to attack the crisis. As J. Michael McGinnis, deputy assistant secretary for health of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, said of today's AIDS epidemic: "Science and statistics can tell us much about the possibilities and priorities. Planners can chart a course. But what determines the success of a policy is the resolve to act.... We have the knowledge and means to become a healthier society. We need only exert the will to apply what we know systematically in the interest of a truly vital nation."[108]

108. J. Michael McGinnis, "National Issues in Disease Prevention," *Issues in Science and Technology* 5 (Winter 1988–89): 46–52.

FILM HISTORY'S *BILDUNGSROMAN*

Kevin Jack Hagopian
Memphis State University

IN 1974, PIONEERING film theorist Raymond Durgnat pleaded in his book *The Strange Case of Alfred Hitchcock* (MIT Press, 1974) that "*auteur* theory has been a useful stepping stone, but it's high time to go beyond it."(200) Mired in a Romantic tradition of author-based criticism suitable for other arts but impossible to sustain in view of film's collaborative and institutional nature, academic film studies was even then feeling the irresistible pull of economic history and Continental theory.

Yielding to those forces has brought about an infinitely more rigorous and professional brand of scholarship. Yet practical criticism, a form of expression vital to film studies' origins and most visible in the early reviews of James Agee and Andrew Sarris, has now been separated from the concerns of researchers. As the distance between traditional film criticism and film theory/film history becomes more vast, the interpretation of individual great films, as a humanistic critical activity, becomes more alien to film studies.

Critical horizons have stretched and expanded since Durgnat voiced his plaint; he could not have known that film studies in 1974 was then on the cusp of a revolution that would, in ten short years, place a heretofore renegade area of study at the very forefront of new developments in historiography and critical theory. Since the early 1970s, when film studies courses first cracked the academy, textures of the discipline have radically changed. Entirely new areas of specialization, such as "early film" (that is, film from its origins to the birth of the nickelodeon era) have been invented with the opening of film archives. Video has meant widespread availability of rare film titles, and has encouraged extremely close analysis of the image. Professional societies such as the Society for Cinema Studies and the University Film and Video Association proliferate, and journals sprout like mushrooms. Princeton, Illinois, Texas, Wisconsin, and other prestigious university presses clamor for manuscripts to include in their cinema studies series, considerably raising the visibility of the film scholar within the academy.

Theoretical advances

Books Reviewed in This Essay

FILM AND PROPAGANDA IN AMERICA: A DOCUMENTARY HISTORY. VOLUME 1, WORLD WAR I. Series edited by David Culbert. Volume 1 edited by Richard Wood. Greenwood, 1990. 504 pp. $79.95, Cloth.

FILM AND PROPAGANDA IN AMERICA: A DOCUMENTARY HISTORY. VOLUME 2, WORLD WAR II PART 1. Edited by David Culbert. Greenwood, 1990. 544 pp. $79.95, Cloth.

FILM AND PROPAGANDA IN AMERICA: A DOCUMENTARY HISTORY. VOLUME 3, WORLD WAR II PART 2. Edited by David Culbert. Greenwood, 1990. 576 pp. $79.95, Cloth.

HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN CINEMA: VOLUME 1: THE EMERGENCE OF CINEMA: THE AMERICAN SCREEN TO 1907. By Charles Musser. Series edited by Charles Harpole. Scribner's Sons, 1990. 613 pp. $65, Cloth.

HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN CINEMA: VOLUME 2: THE TRANSFORMATION OF CINEMA: 1907–1915. By Eileen Bowser. Scribner's Sons, 1990. 337 pp. $65, Cloth.

HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN CINEMA: VOLUME 3: AN EVENING'S ENTERTAINMENT: THE AGE OF THE SILENT FEATURE PICTURE, 1915–1928. By Richard Koszarski. Scribner's Sons, 1990. 395 pp. $65, Cloth.

D. W. GRIFFITH AND THE ORIGINS OF AMERICAN NARRATIVE FILM: THE EARLY YEARS AT BIOGRAPH. By Tom Gunning. University of Illinois Press, 1991. 328 pp. $42.50, Cloth.

such as feminist theory, deconstruction, and psychoanalytic criticism have been embraced, each in its turn, by a discipline always eager to identify with the new. These highly technical discourses have had their detractors, chiefly because of their often impenetrable prose. Still, new critical styles have helped to engender wider interest in Third World filmmaking and in feminist and avant-garde film practices, as well as a thorough "re-reading" of Hollywood technique and ideology. As the field matures, it is even now in the midst of a furious debate on future agendas, a debate that surely foreshadows the acceptance of film studies as a member of the academy in full standing. The seven works under consideration here represent a strong cross-section of the concerns and methods of contemporary film studies in the United States.

No single era in film history has benefited as much by these changes as the silent cinema years, from 1896 to 1927. Film archives have been catalogued, titles long thought lost have been rediscovered and restored, and manuscript collections discovered and opened to scrutiny. All but two of the works under discussion here deal with this captivating period in American film history. Because of the confluence of so many important circumstances in popular culture, social conditions, and communications, the years before 1927 hold multiple attractions for any historian of the mass media. The films of the period can be used as a magnifying glass for this remarkable time. For theorists of the purely formal properties of the image, early cinema has attractions, as well.

The three volumes of *Film and Propaganda in America: A Documentary History* reviewed here (a fourth, dealing with the Cold War period and Vietnam, is also available) are designed to address one of film studies' newly felt needs: that of making archival sources as widely available as possible. Editor-in-Chief David Culbert, of Louisiana State University, adds these print volumes to the collections of government archives on microfilm he has edited, and Greenwood Press adds *Film and Propaganda in America* to its Documentary Reference Collections, a series of thematically organized volumes of documentary sources covering topics as diverse as the Gallup Polls and agriculture in the United States.

Archival research has been a boon to film studies over the last twenty years. Manuscript collections such as those at the Universities of Texas, Southern California, and Wisconsin have given depth to histories of the American commercial cinema as an institution. Used in coordination with film archives, such collections add dimension to theories of the image, as was demonstrated in David Bordwell, Kristin Thompson, and Janet Staiger's landmark study *The Classical Hollywood Cinema* (Columbia University Press, 1985). Perhaps because of the evanescent nature of the film image itself, these film and manuscript sources are becoming ever more necessary to proper research, and even to sophisticated teaching. Indeed, many fear the pendulum's swing, from a wholly subjective understanding of individual films to a gross, positivistic reading of film history through its written documentation.

The three volumes of *Film and Propaganda in America* under consideration here draw materials from government collections, including the Library of Congress and the National Archives. The publication of historical documents always involves difficult decisions, and in order to create a sense of context, some of the material here consists of acknowledgements and receipts of more important documents. The secondary material, including film reviews and advertisements, provides further context. Depositions and transcripts of interviews have been included for the reader, although occasionally one wishes for explanatory footnotes and annotations. However, the editors have provided careful introductions that tutor the reader in how best to understand the documentary materials, citing helpful secondary sources.

The World War I volume, edited by Richard Wood, offers a mosaic of representative letters, certificates, contracts, and advertisements relating to such topics as the depiction of the armed services in commercial motion pictures, the pictorial image of Woodrow Wilson, and censorship arguments. Especially solid is Wood's picture of George Creel's Committee on Public Information, the American propaganda clearinghouse. As Wood shows, Creel was keenly aware of the possibilities of the motion picture in the fight for popular opinion. The CPI energetically embraced film as a propaganda medium, and used movie houses as a venue for its famed "four-minute men," a network of thousands of patriotic speakers who functioned as a direct, weekly conduit for the latest morale-building communiqués in 1918.

Through a variety of documents, Wood shows how instrumental the CPI was in helping the United States motion picture industry strengthen its trade organizations and establish a favored export status; both of these were to be crucial as the movie industry moved toward monopoly in the 1920s.

The two World War II volumes, edited by Culbert himself, choose a deep rather than a broad approach, perhaps because of the sheer amount of documentation available from this period. Testimony before Congressional committees makes up the bulk of this volume, and Culbert clearly illustrates the schizophrenic position the government found itself in with respect to the film industry. On the one hand, the lessons of World War I were still fresh; the movies were an incalculably valuable tool of propaganda, and no one in the world made better movies than Hollywood. On the other hand, Congress was always unsure of the true motives and sympathies of Hollywood executives; where did patriotism end, and profit begin? Even documents relating to the prosaic business of producing Army training films reveal hostility toward Hollywood moguls such as Darryl F. Zanuck.

What emerges from Culbert's selection is a picture of a far-from-united front in the production of propaganda. These violent internal disputes were successfully kept from the public eye, however, so these documents provide an alternative to our nostalgic, mistaken beliefs of How Hollywood Won the War. This is an extraordinarily rich volume, crucial for anyone studying the studio system during the war years. Volume 2 ends, and volume 3 continues, with an account of the making of Frank Capra's celebrated "Why We Fight" series of films. Background information details the frustrating circumstances behind the making of the films, and provides a unique perspective on how these frustrations affected the actual productions: Culbert has included variant versions of scripts for each of the seven films in a microfiche supplement to this series, each new script reflecting a dialectic of political revision.

Other highlights of volume 3 include documents relating to the production of John Huston's honored documentaries *San Pietro* and *Let There Be Light*. Conventional wisdom has long had it that these films were intended as prototypical anti-war statements. In the documents he has selected, Culbert provides the first contemporary accounts of the production of these films, and challenges many of Huston's assertions about the conditions surrounding the making and release of each film.

Research in government archives related to film is the province of a small but dedicated group of researchers. While the appearance in print of selected documents from these collections is of real importance to media historians, these archives form only a piece of the puzzle. What we are less likely to see, unfortunately, are print or microfilm collections of the major Hollywood studio archives, now residing in California, New York, New Jersey, Wisconsin, and Texas. Both financial and proprietary considerations ensure that experiments such as the microfilming of the D. W. Griffith Papers, held in the Museum of Modern Art's

manuscript archives, will be all too occasional. When used in conjunction with secondary sources, such as Clayton R. Koppes and Gregory D. Black's *Hollywood Goes to War: How Politics, Profits, and Propaganda Shaped World War II Movies* (Free Press, 1987) and, ideally, with the supplementary materials on microfiche, the volumes in the *Film and Propaganda in America* series contribute a wealth of data on their respective periods. They are proof that the circulation of documentary sources can have as revisionist an effect as the most argumentative historical essay.

Certainly one of the most outwardly impressive signs of the new respectability of cinema studies is the appearance of a major publishing venture, Scribner's *History of the American Cinema* series. Projected to be ten volumes when complete, each covering roughly a decade, the series is under the general editorship of Charles Harpole of the University of Central Florida. The series has impressive trappings. It is fully and lavishly illustrated and larded with tables, appendices, and other apparatus. Its editorial advisory board consists of a fair cross-section of the film studies professoriate and notable free-lancers, a faction that is still an integral part of the field. Two of the earliest chroniclers of the cinema in English are on the masthead, and their inclusion is highly symbolic: Lewis Jacobs, author of one of the first histories of the American film, *The Rise of the American Film* (Harcourt Brace, 1939), and the late Jay Leyda, author of *Kino: A History of the Russian and Soviet Film* (George Allen and Unwin, 1960) an acknowledged mentor to a generation of film scholars. For many years, work such as that of Jacobs and Leyda was all that was available to researchers. Many of the films they wrote about had long since become unavailable except in their own vast memories. If the work of Leyda, Jacobs, and their pioneering contemporaries was sometimes hobbled by an excessive narrativization at the expense of a more pluralistic vision of events, it was seminal, serious thinking about the history of the motion picture as a combination of art form and industry.

Beginning in the early 1970s, however, younger scholars began advancing theoretical postures unimaginable in the time of Jacobs and Leyda. Feminism, psychoanalytic criticism, and, in particular, the Marxist historiography of the influential group associated with the journal *Cahiers du Cinema* in France called into question the highly focused "great men and great works" histories of film studies' first years. Perhaps forgivably, this younger generation enacted, in Freudian terms, a ritualized killing of the father, in which writers such as Jacobs were blasted for their unacknowledged patriarchal and narrative assumptions. Not only were such criticisms resolutely ahistorical as arguments in themselves, but, as Charles Musser notes in the *History of the American Cinema* series, such attacks did not solve the central problem of film history, particularly early film history, which was not so much a lack of theoretical sophistication as a lack of raw data.

While current theoretical disciplines, including feminist theory and structuralist approaches, are represented on the editorial board of the *History of the American Cinema*, it is to the spirit of the first generation of film historians, that of Leyda and Jacobs, that the series returns. While this series cannot by any stretch of the imagination be made part of the recent general conservative backlash against relativist theoretical positions throughout academia, it is notable that all three volumes are far more concerned with heaping up high mounds of documentation than with serving as a polemic on "how history ought to be done." Indeed, *History of the American Cinema* is one of the first publications in film history to give writers the room to flex all their theoretical *and* historical muscles. What is surprising is that all three writers have embedded their philosophies of history in their presentation of events. (Musser's volume is the most obviously sensitive, throughout, to issues of historiography.) For a field in which even

standard histories often have long, argumentative asides on theoretical issues, and journals devote as much space to reading other historians as to revising film history, this is a true change of course. Critics tied to Frankfurt School cultural analysis are sure to accuse Harpole's project of fact-mongering to the point of positivism. Indeed, at some universities, these prose accounts are routinely being shelved in the reference section, testament to their appearance as highly detailed descriptions that do not advance an identifiable theoretical perspective.

Such criticism is premature at best, however. Musser is correct in stating that we simply do not know enough about the silent cinema to debate the relative merits of opposing narrative styles. While critics may accuse Harpole, Musser, Bowser, and Koszarski of inflicting a standardized history on the field, it is more correct to call this a standard history. The distinction is significant, for this series does not read as an agenda. It offers a basis for argument, for further research, but also for revision.

Charles Musser's volume, *The Emergence of Cinema: The American Screen to 1907*, covers the era that is currently the most fertile for scholars of the American film, the so-called early film period. It shares with the other volumes in the series a concern with the practices of film production, distribution, and exhibition. Because of the extreme complexity of its subject, and due to Musser's skills as a writer and researcher, this volume is the most ambitious of the three yet published.

Like many other film scholars, Musser has worked as a curator, archivist, and documentary filmmaker. His work shows the variety of primary source materials—patent documents, correspondence, business records, and the films themselves—that film scholars can finally use now that dozens of important manuscript and film archives have been opened over the last twenty years.

For students of the mass media, Musser's accounts of the growth of the American film industry, its initial collisions with and accommodations to various guardians of public morality, and the impact of swiftly changing aesthetic strategies, are critically important. Drawing on collections such as the Edison National Historic Site papers and the archives of the George Eastman House, as well as thousands of pages of lawsuit and incorporation documents, *The Emergence of Cinema* is a spectacularly well-researched book. It must be added to the growing shelf of significant cultural and social histories of the crucial first decade of the twentieth century.

For the film studies specialist, Musser's philosophical choices are as important as the wealth of data he provides, for early cinema has received enlarged coverage in the major cinema studies journals of late, and is featured in the publication of its own professional society, Domitor. *The Emergence of Cinema*'s first chapter, "Toward a History of Screen Practice," names the book's organizing concerns briefly, even tersely. Musser cuts through much of the myth and prevarication that has entangled the history of film technology and raises the issue of whether cinema itself can be said to have been "invented" or "discovered." Musser takes on not only the already-infamous hagiographies of the medium such as Terry Ramsaye's *A Million and One Nights* (Simon and Schuster, 1926), but all writers who would postulate a "starting point," an identifiable moment of either inspiration or innovation that might break history into two great halves, Before and After. Musser advocates a subtle if occasionally elusive program for the pages that follow: "Screen practice has always had a technological component, a repertoire of representational strategies and a socio-cultural function, all of which undergo constant, interrelated change."(16)

As Musser notes in a following paragraph, film history is susceptible, at key moments, to crucial inventions, social conditions, or even aesthetic innovations that might alter film practice. Musser

shows that his historiography respects a notion of paradigmatic change, as expressed in Thomas Kuhn's *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (University of Chicago Press, 1970), and since endlessly elaborated by scholars in the humanities and social sciences. Musser's enthusiastic use of a paradigm-based theory of change recalls David Bordwell and others' use of Kuhnian logic as a mirror in which to view film studies itself. Because it is a definitive entry in a definitive series, Musser's book is sure to play a primary role in constructing and revising paradigms in the study of early cinema. What will be more interesting to the philosopher of history in film studies, however, is whether Musser's unobtrusive theory, as a way of managing historical data in a work so large, may not become submerged in a truly impressive display of factual information

Eileen Bowser's volume on *The Transformation of Cinema: 1907–1915*, begins with a headnote that explicitly rejects the totalizing historical theories of the *Cahiers du Cinema* group and others. Her volume is a more traditional, direct narrative than Musser's. *The Transformation of Cinema*, which covers the so-called "nickelodeon period" of American film history, is most valuable for its understanding of the period's film audiences. It also illustrates the frustrations of this exciting new branch of film historical research.

The nickelodeon era was one of the very first sites at which revisionist film historians proved the worth of reevaluating received wisdom. Writers such as Russell Merritt and Robert Allen proved that the storefront theater marked a dramatic confrontation between various amusement industries such as motion pictures and vaudeville, and between immigrant and landed classes. Bowser recapitulates these arguments, and adds a geographic breadth to studies that had, in their original form, often focused only on a single city. General readers will find this work utterly fascinating, as Bowser retraces debates on local censorship and the efforts of theater owners to placate the "better classes of people." Trade paper columns and exhibitor's handbooks effectively portray the nickelodeon owners' interests, and daily newspaper and monthly magazine articles make coherent the interests of reformers and upper-class municipal leaders.

But this study, like other analyses of Progressive-era urban social change, must finally confront the voicelessness of its most important population, the largely immigrant lower class. This becomes especially significant in a work that has secondary use as social history. For it is Bowser's unenviable task to imagine how unlettered America must have responded to changes in film form; to printed intertitles; to the change from a medium-shot to a close-up aesthetic; to off-screen presentations in the theater such as lecturers and singers. Bowser presents believable responses as she heads into these cul-de-sacs, but her quandary suggests that, as film history continues to increase its reliance on the proven versus the conjectural, it will have to confront what John Higham has called, "the authentic unsuspected otherness of the past."

The Transformation of Cinema provides several additional highlights, including Bowser's account of the rise and decline of the Motion Picture Patents Company, the first (but by no means the last) incarnation of national monopoly power in the American motion picture industry. Bowser's book adds a great deal to our understanding of the mechanics of film distribution, a heretofore shadowy corner of industry practice. Her description of the development of chains of film exchanges to complement centralized production centers shows how distribution worked at both local and national levels. The period Bowser discusses was also the heyday of the great East Coast production studios such as Solax and Biograph. These studios, and their nearly forgotten producer-directors, such as Alice Guy-Blache, are given their due. Last, Bowser patiently and clearly explains the striking developments in the

American film's visual style during this period. Her analysis requires no special theoretical primer to understand it. Her descriptions are readable and well-illustrated, and will measurably assist mass media historians as they seek to broaden their hold on the cultural artifacts of the first decades of the twentieth century.

Richard Koszarksi's *An Evening's Entertainment: The Age of the Silent Feature Picture: 1915–1928*, completes the *History of the American Cinema*'s trilogy on the silent era. Although sound was a reality long before 1928, author Koszarski and his editors have wisely chosen to postpone detailed consideration of sound technology and exhibition practices until later volumes. *An Evening's Entertainment* continues the trend established in the previous volumes toward a strong, traditional narrative history. Koszarski's use of extended anecdotes, such as his account of the opening of the colossal Hollywood production complex, Universal City, not only effectively engages his reader, but also, ultimately, declares his distaste for the asides and ironies of contemporary film theory. As with Bowser's volume, *An Evening's Entertainment* indulges in very little discourse analysis. Koszarski prefers his history straight, and avoids questioning his sources. Indeed, Koszarski uses a tool that many recent academic writers of the history of American film have purposely allowed to languish: traditional biography. Two of his chapters are collections of two- to three-page life histories of leading performers and filmmakers, such as Clara Bow and Erich von Stroheim. (The "filmmakers" category includes producers, directors, moguls, and craftspeople.) These sections total over one hundred pages, nearly a third of the book. Koszarski, more than either Musser or Bowser, has been influenced by Kevin Brownlow's pathbreaking research on the silent film. In his works *The Parade's Gone By* (Knopf, 1968), *The War, the West, and the Wilderness* (Knopf, 1979), and *Behind the Mask of Innocence: Sex, Violence, Prejudice, Crime: Films of Social Consciousness in the Silent Era* (Knopf, 1990), Brownlow has always championed the silent era emphatically as a time of *auteurs*, not institutions.

As readable as these biographies are, they are poorly linked, and the general reader will come away from them with only a series of impressions about the nature of celebrity in the silent years. Far more valuable are the chapters on production, exhibition, and corporate organization. In particular, the chapter "Going to the Movies" will be extremely useful for the social historian, for it describes the actual conditions of spectatorship as they were experienced by the theatergoer and as they were managed by the exhibitor.

The Scribner's *History of the American Cinema* series can be faulted for its seeming lack of interest in its own theoretical mechanisms. This is especially strange given how obsessed academic film history has been with these mechanisms. Yet this series has a great deal to commend it to both specialists and general academic readers alike. The series features readable, direct accounts of film form and film style. The data on production is immense, and the material on distribution takes a giant step toward making sense of this pivotal economic interchange. All three volumes conscientiously attempt to recreate the experience of film viewing in a way far more worthwhile than recent abstract posturings on reception theory. This series is a legitimate keynote to the next decade of film studies, and future volumes will be watched keenly by all in the field.

Tom Gunning's work, *D. W. Griffith and the Origins of American Narrative Film: The Early Years at Biograph*, culminates ten years of dogged archival work and astute theoretical study. Gunning's focus seems, at first glance, excessively narrow for the general academic reader—he deals only with films director Griffith made at the Biograph studios in 1908 and 1909.

What makes Gunning's book worth reading even for those who are not Griffith scholars is its openness in addressing the con-

cerns of all historians of the cultural artifact. Much more than the other books in this survey, Gunning's foregrounds historiographical issues. As much as any monographist now writing in cultural history, Gunning fruitfully synthesies the most cogent theoretical models with the legwork of the devoted archive burrower. By insisting on documentation, he invests his argumentative claims with unusual integrity. On the other hand, Gunning's willingness to wander in theoretical groves unfamiliar to many historians has helped him decide that his citations from archival sources need be representative, rather than exhaustive.

The result is a deftly argued, well-illustrated essay on the works of Griffith that has as its centerpiece claims about Griffith's centrality to what Gunning calls "the narrator system." Griffith stands at a transitional moment, in Gunning's account, between a cinema that experimented with a variety of storytelling styles, and the classical Hollywood cinema that still largely determines cinematic style today. Griffith's particular contribution was to foreground his storytelling technique in ways that previously had not been reconciled with narrative economy. Griffith's use of flashbacks, cross-cutting, and other devices during these years at Biograph, says Gunning, show a combination of discipline and innovation that makes these films significant. Gunning explicates his ideas using a huge variety of theoretical tactics, including some advanced post-structuralist critical styles which, in other hands, would be insufferable. Gunning never loses sight of the object of his theorizing, however, and in lucid terms frequently pauses to interrogate his own methods. As a result, *D. W. Griffith* is a masterful example of theory in action.

Gunning's concerns are at once with the film industry that produced the films, the films as aesthetic texts, and the society that received them. In this multiplicity of aims, he joins Edward Baron Turk. Like Turk's *Child of Paradise: Marcel Carne and the Golden Age of French Cinema* (Harvard University Press, 1989), Gunning's work shows that the model of an artist-genius functioning in a film industry as part of a collaborative setting in which economically valued goods are produced, must undergo extensive retooling if it is to be at all applicable to the historical position of the motion picture director.

For film historians, this is a matter of great seriousness. What is at stake is not mere biography, attenuated in its relationship to the main currents of thought in the discipline. The virtual DNA of the American film studies community has been an *auteurism* in which criticism originates not merely at the site of but *in the personality of* the great directors. Gunning's view of *auteurism* is one in which many issues every bit as powerful as isolated creativity meet in the rhetorical figure of the director. D. W. Griffith at Biograph, in Gunning's assessment, may be thought of as a point of intersection of various continua. These continua include the infant motion picture industry, the history of post-Victorian mores in America, the evolution of motion picture technology, and changing performance styles in American theater and film. One of those continua is Griffith himself. For Gunning the director's biography is no placeholder, but an active contributor, in concert with other forces, to a revolution in film style. Gunning has heard Durgnat's call, cited at the beginning of this essay, for a new way of looking at authorship, and has responded masterfully.

Taken together, these seven works represent the state-of-the-art in film history. *Film and Propaganda in America* illustrates the documentary mode, Scribner's *History of the American Cinema* the narrative mode, and Gunning's *D. W. Griffith and the Origins of American Narrative Film* the synthetic mode. As it leaves practical criticism behind, film history asks its practitioners to master the first two in order to achieve the third.

●

LITERARY JOURNALISM IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.
Edited by Norman Sims.
• Oxford University Press
• 1990, 320 pp.
• $32.50, Cloth; $14.95, Paper

A LITTLE-KNOWN contemporary Chicana writer, Gloria Anzaldúa, hovers over this collection of essays as muse.

Although only one of the contributorswrites directly about her, a quotation from Anzaldúa's 1987 work *Borderlands/La Frontera* serves as the book's epigraph, and "Borderlands" could well be the title of this volume. Editor Norman Sims has assembled twelve essays—six of them newly written for this collection—that explore the borderland between fact and fiction known as "literary journalism."

Thomas Connery, who leads off the essayists, writes about the turn-of-the-century origins of "a third way to tell the story"—a mode between fiction and journalism. All the essays deal with this third way, in the process contributing to recent challenges to the literary canon. Ronald Weber's essay on Ernest Hemingway is a good example of the revisionist impulse that underlies these essays. Weber not only challenges the conventional view that *A Moveable Feast* is the best of Hemingway's nonfiction—he prefers *Death in the Afternoon* and *Green Hills of Africa*—but sets those two books alongside the author's best novels. Weber goes head-to-head with critic Edmund Wilson, who argued in a still-influential 1941 essay that Hemingway lost his bearings when he moved from novels to nonfiction. Weber concedes that Hemingway's nonfiction is quite different from his novels but insists that each genre has its distinct, and equal, pleasures.

Weber and the other critics in this volume assault the literary hierarchy within which "imaginative" literature is inherently superior to nonfiction. Traditional literary critics may concede a place in the canon to a select few nonfictionbooks, but they argue that those works qualify as literature because they bring the techniques of fiction to the lowly form of journalism. In a beautifully written essay, William Howarth upsets the notion of a one-way traffic from fiction to journalism and shows how the literary classic *The Grapes of Wrath* borrowed heavily from documentary.

All the writers in the volume share assumptions established by postmodern literary theory: any written text draws upon other texts; nonfiction is no more "artless" than fiction or poetry; language does not so much reflect reality as invent it. Three of the writers—Hugh Kenner, Darrell Mansell, and Kathy Smith—deal explicitly with these theoretical assumptions. Kenner exposes the artifice that underlies the "plain style," the unornamented, seemingly frank mode that implicitly declares its fidelity to reality. Mansell examines a 1953 memoir by Mary McCarthy, along with a subsequent McCarthy essay that comments on readers' confusions as to whether her original piece was a short story or nonfiction. (Sims helpfully reprints both the McCarthy pieces, which make a fascinating case study.) While Mansell blurs the sharp distinctions that McCarthy wishes to draw between fiction and autobiography, he also unsettles literary critics who wish to treat autobiographies just like novels. Smith applies deconstructive critical methods to the work of John McPhee and concludes, unsurprisingly, that he is as much artist as reporter.

In the past, the small group of writers known as the New Journalists has gotten the lion's share of attention from literary critics interested in journalism. One of this collection's most valuable contributions is to open up a broader range of texts. Essays in the volume look back to turn-of-the-century writers such as Hutchins Hapgood and W. E. B. Du Bois, and forward to emerging writers like Gloria Anzaldúa. Shelley Fisher Fishkin's essay on Anzaldúa and other writers who have been marginalized because of gender, race, class, and

sexuality—their own and their subjects'—points the way for future work in the field. So does John Pauly's essay on the New Journalism. Pauly points out the limitations of previous criticism on the New Journalism, which has focused largely on its aesthetic dimension. He argues for a methodology that reads New Journalism as a form of social action taking place within specific cultural, political, and economic worlds—a mode of analysis that can be applied not just to New Journalism but to any cultural text.

Fishkin, Pauly, and other writers in this volume call our attention to new subjects for study and new analytical methods. In their form, however, these essays fall into familiar academic modes. It is instructive to compare these pioneer critics in literary journalism with another group of academic pioneers: recent feminist critics. Like the writers in this volume, feminist critics brought to the academic community new subject matter and methods, but they also brought a new style of critical discourse. Applying the feminist insight that "the personal is political" to their own writing, they infused new life into the arid terrain of academic prose with essays that were more personal in tone, acknowledging the way in which a critic's personal experience shapes her literary response. So far, journalism critics have made no comparable contribution.

One essay in this volume, however, shows what might be done. Editor Norman Sims's essay on *New Yorker* writer Joseph Mitchell is a fascinating hybrid that borrows from three modes of discourse. From literary criticism, it takes the close reading of texts; from journalism it draws the techniques of the personality profile; and from recent innovative nonfiction it borrows the frank recognition of the writer's presence as he or she gathers and shapes the material. Sims sought out and interviewed the reclusive Mitchell for his essay, but he does more than combine Mitchell's comments with his own analysis. Sims casts himself as an academic Sherlock Holmes, following up clues and letting us in on his ratiocinative process as he constructs deliberately daring hypotheses to account for enigmas in Mitchell's work. Sims constructs a dizzying hall of mirrors, in which his own essay reproduces, in part, the techniques of Mitchell's complex final book, *Joe Gould's Secret*.

Sims's audacious essay is not fully successful. His fascinating and innovative twenty-page discussion of Mitchell is followed by a limp six-page coda that abandons Mitchell for a discussion of contemporaries on the *New Yorker*, treating them to a standard academic analysis. Still, Sims's essay shows that journalism scholars have the potential not only to find new subjects for study and new methods of analysis but to develop new ways of writing about what they learn.

. . . *Michael Robertson*
Lafayette College

●

INTERNATIONAL ENCYCLOPEDIA OF COMMUNICATIONS.
Edited by Erik Barnouw, with George Gerbner et al.
• Oxford University Press and the Annenberg School of Communications, University of Pennsylvania
• 1989, 4 v., 1,960 pp.
• $375, Cloth

THE INTERNATIONAL Encyclopedia of Communications is the first encyclopedia to describe the global discipline of communication. This remarkable set of books defines the field of communication and is a landmark publication. It is a necessary resource for reading collections associated with departments and schools of journalism and mass communication, and another set of the four-volume publication is needed in the reference collections in the main campus library.

Editorially emanating from the community of scholars at the Annenberg School of Communications at the University of Pennsylvania, the publication takes a very broad view of communication—broad in subjects covered, broad in

theoretical approach, broad in geography and time. The whole of the four volumes says that all human activity is communication.

The plan to produce the first encyclopedia marking a new academic field was ambitious, and the goal was gracefully accomplished. The articles, written by established scholars, are interesting, and the editing is even and excellent. The package—the print, the design, the eleven hundred illustrations, the size—is beautifully presented.

Congresses of international scholars were convened by George Gerbner, chair of the editorial board and, at the time, dean of the Annenberg School, to discuss the feasibility of producing an encyclopedia that would cover three phases of communication: 1) systems and organizations, 2) modes, media, and codes, and 3) behavior and effects.

The scholars cast a large net into the sea of recorded human knowledge to define and codify the field, and the boundaries were consciously not drawn. The fluidity of the field as defined by the encyclopedia allows for the inclusion of unexpected articles such as "Art, Funerary" and "Animal Communication."

The inclusive nature of the field is described in the preface by editor-in-chief Erik Barnouw, professor emeritus of dramatic arts, Columbia University. He writes that the communications revolution evolved so gradually that it was not perceived as a revolution until the rapid emergence of modern technologies stepped up the pace.

Of the 569 articles in the encyclopedia, five are essential to understanding its scope and quality. The long article "Communications, Study of," by George Gerbner and Wilbur Schramm (the latter now deceased), traces the development of university programs of education and research in communication, and is especially recommended to readers who work in academe. Other foundation pieces are "Communication, Philosophies of," a description of the major classical ideas by Eugene Baer; "Communications, Research: Origins and Development," a succinct history by Kurt Lang; "Mass Communications Research," by Denis McQuail; "Mass Media Effects," by Elihu Katz; and "Models of Communication," by McQuail and Sven Windahl.

Among the several useful aids to the contents—the others being the introductory essays and the index—is the "Topical Guide," which groups the 569 articles under thirty major fields of interest. The list of fields suggests the contents of the work: Advertising and Public Relations, Ancient World, Animal Communication, Area Studies, Arts, Communications Research, Computer Era, Education, Folklore, Government Regulation, Institutions, International Communication, Journalism, Language and Linguistics, Literature, Media, Middle Ages, Motion Pictures, Music, Nonverbal Communication, Photography, Political Communication, Print Media, Radio, Religion, Speech, Television, Theater, Theories of Communication, and Theorists.

Under the topic of "Theorists," the names of sixty-one individuals indicate that they are among the "named entries," which provide brief biographical information and focus on the individual's contribution to communication. About twenty articles are listed under the topic of Theories of Communication. Among the articles listed are "Historiography," "Gender," "Social Cognitive Theory," and "Structuralism." The articles listed under the topic of Journalism include "Comics," "Magazine," "Minorities in the Media," "News Agencies," "Newsmagazine," "Newspaper: History," and "Sports and the Media."

What information does the encyclopedia offer scholars of American journalism history? The work offers the larger historical context for a specific inquiry, because history is a cornerstone of the publication. It is not a comprehensive source for the history of American journalism, although the subject is not ignored. For example, muckraking is not a separate article; the subject is addressed by one sentence referring to Pulitzer and Hearst in the entry "Government-Media Relations."

The general index has thirty-four entries under the heading "journalism," including ten biographical entries. The history of American journalism also appears within other articles. In the section on "Political Communication," Michael Schudson writes about history.

The encyclopedia has brief information or no information about many of the subjects discussed in articles recently published in *American Journalism*. For example, John Tebbel's overview of "Newspaper History" says little about the Revolutionary, frontier, or Civil War press in the United States. Neither Tebbel's section on newspaper history or Dan Schiller's on "Newspaper: Trends in North America" cites a standard history, *The Press and America*, by Michael and Edwin Emery. The encyclopedia does have a short biographical article about Joseph Pulitzer, also by John Tebbel, and a longer one about magazines, written by Theodore Peterson. The name of Richard Harding Davis, an archetype of the foreign correspondent, is not found in the index. Pulitzer, magazines, and Davis were also topics of recently published research in *American Journalism*.

. . . *Frances Goins Wilhoit*
Indiana University

●

THE PRESS AND THE COLD WAR.
By James Aronson.
• Monthly Review Press
• 1990, 352 pp.
• $33, Cloth; $13, Paper

COLD WAR RHETORIC: STRATEGY, METAPHOR, AND IDEOLOGY.
By Martin J. Medhurst, Robert L. Ivie, Philip Wander, and Robert L. Scott.
• Greenwood
• 1990, 248 pp.
• $39.95, Cloth

NOW THAT THE fearful, giant Soviet bear appears to be losing its roar, the time has come for an objective evaluation of the assumptions that led the United States to see the world as divided between good and evil—two armed camps, each an eternal threat to the other.

Monthly Review Press has made an important contribution to a renewed discussion of the role of the mass media in this process by reprinting *The Press and the Cold War*, reporter James Aronson's 1970 classic discussion of the role of American newspapers in the war of words. Three new chapters and an autobiographical postscript that Aronson completed before his death in 1988 carry some of his themes through the Reagan administration. But they add little to the original work.

Aronson worked as a reporter for the *New York Times* in the early days of the Cold War. There, he said, his reporting was balanced, which meant never favorable to a socialist country. Disillusioned, he gave up on the idea of objective reporting and in 1948 helped create the weekly *National Guardian* as a loyal opposition.

But loyalty in the 1940s and 1950s required conformity. Summoned to a Senate hearing by Joseph McCarthy, Aronson and his partner, Cedric Belfrage, suffered the biting personal abuse many felt during that period.

They were criticized for their work in establishing a free press in liberated Germany after World War II. Nazi editors forced from their positions told McCarthy's investigators that Aronson and Belfrage had hired Communists to run German newspapers in the U.S. Occupation Zone. True to form, McCarthy claimed that the two established Red newspapers in Germany and the United States.

In closed meetings, McCarthy treated his guests courteously, but Aronson described the public meeting with reporters present as "a recurring nightmare: insults and abuse, threats and humiliation and, under the rules of the inquisition, the frustration of the gang-up. Refusal to respond to questions about politics and associations brought threats of citations for contempt and indictment for perjury." McCarthy made snide remarks about Aronson's work on the *New York Post* and the *New York Times*, while former colleagues and reporters

seemed more resentful than supportive. Belfrage suffered arrest and detention as a dangerous alien.

Thus Aronson's perspective on the Cold War is that of both reporter and victim. His perspective is clear from the title of his first chapter, "From Zenger to Abdication," indicating that the press had become an arm of the established order on official issues.

In *Cold War Rhetoric,* three speech professors look at the Cold War from three different perspectives following a brief, but suggestive, introductory essay by Professor Robert Scott of the University of Minnesota. The analysts are Martin J. Medhurst and Robert L. Ivie of Texas A&M University, and Philip Wander of San Jose State.

Each begins with a background essay on his topic. Wander, for example, traces the term *ideology* beginning with the French Revolution, where it meant the critical study of ideas. Napoleon characterized ideologues as impractical intellectuals with subversive impulses. Wander traces ideas from classical Greek theorists to modern critical theorists like C. Wright Mills and Alvin Gouldner.

From a strategic perspective, Medhurst sees the Cold War as a contest over tangibles, such as markets and spheres of influence, and intangibles, such as public opinion and images. In the most rewarding portion of the book, he analyzes the politics of President Eisenhower's "Atoms for Peace" speech to the United Nations in 1953 and President Kennedy's speech announcing the resumption of atmospheric nuclear testing in 1962. In both cases, the internal politics of the White House staff is analyzed along with the international messages contained in presidential rhetoric.

Ivie looks at metaphors used to characterize the Cold War first in the confrontation between broadcaster Edward R. Murrow and McCarthy and then in the words of critics, such as 1948 presidential candidate Henry Wallace, Sen. J. William Fulbright, and anti-nuclear activist Helen Caldicott.

Looking at ideology, Wander analyzes the U.S. assumptions behind the Cold War rhetoric of presidents, generals, and secretaries of state. His third chapter looks at the rise and fall of Americanism and unAmericanism, including the Reagan-Bush revival of anticommunist rhetoric and symbolism to discredit their opponents.

The power that Cold War assumptions still maintain over American culture, ideology, and political rhetoric can be seen in the debate over war in the Persian Gulf, presumably the first post-Cold War conflict. Instead of seeing the war as a fight over oil fields owned by unpleasant feudal kings, American leaders transformed it into another apocalyptic confrontation in which the forces of good must line up against the awesome powers of evil

Recently, in a joint effort, U.S. and Soviet historians have studied the Cuban missile crisis. If such opportunities continue, media scholars may study how two former allies can create and sustain such long-lasting, exaggerated, violent, misleading, expensive, and self-destructive myths about each other. These studies begin the process by looking at communications from the Cold War fortress.

. . . William E. Huntzicker
University of Minnesota

●

THE VIETNAM ERA: MEDIA AND POPULAR CULTURE IN THE U.S. AND VIETNAM.
Edited by Michael Klein.
• Pluto
• 1990, 192 pp.
• $48.50, Cloth

THE GANG AROUND my journalism college looked on me as something of a pedagogical Jean Dixon. My graduate seminar, "Media at War," showed up on the schedule just when the Gulf War turned from uneasy standoff to shooting war, from Desert Shield to Storm.

Our journey through the planned syllabus got a bit out of whack, but it was not a waste or washout. A historical examination of the media in wartime framed the discussion on the media at bay in the desert sands. Vietnam kept entering the seminar's dia-

logue, just as it did the public rhetoric of the Gulf War.

Vietnam is still a great uncertainty, an ache in the national soul that is not likely to disappear for a long, long time. For many there is no agreement about that war, beyond the fact that most think we lost it, not an easy-to-grasp reality, especially with fifty-three thousand names on a memorial in Washington.

Hence, the gradual emergence of the field of Vietnam studies. The political, historical, military, moral, and media-related questions remain. Michael Klein's book adds a particular dimension to the field, with his collection of essays about the media in its several forms, grouped under headings of United States and Vietnam. The latter views are important; reconciliation with Vietnam will not move forward unless we begin to view the war from that country's standpoint, rather than from the outside looking in (and backward).

Klein's opening essay sets a tone for the book. He was an antiwar activist from the early 1960s, and the book cannot be read without bearing that in mind. Only by remembering the images of the 1960s, he points out, will we be able to struggle toward a better future, and that includes revising our view of those we used to call the enemy. The Vietnam period boiled and teemed with issues and ideas, many focused closely on the war, others seemingly around the fringe—civil rights, opposition to the war, and reconstruction of higher education were the three central goals of "the movement." How much change—demonstrable, lasting change in any major institution of American society—took place is more debatable than Klein would have us believe. Some things changed, but which and how much?

The next two chapters are especially valuable to media historians, though not totally satisfying because of some of the assumptions. Micheal X. Delli Carpini, in writing "U.S. Media Coverage of the Vietnam Conflict in 1968," seems to ignore all but the mainstream media in tracing the generally accepted change of direction of coverage after the Tet offensive in February 1968. The press did turn more querulous after Tet, but this says too little about a large strain of critical, analytical reportage and commentary that was more visible and vocal than many acknowledge. In the next chapter, H. Bruce Franklin reminds us about the upsurge in the underground (or alternative) press. Circulation figures were always difficult to nail down, with the Underground Press Syndicate claiming from four and a half to thirty million readers. Hmm. There were at least five hundred different alternative newspapers, and perhaps a thousand underground high school publications in addition. The question might be, did all this mean anything beyond the time in which the alternative press flourished?

Franklin also believes the claim that black rebellion in the U.S. Army insured a victory by the Vietnam revolutionaries; many would dispute that contention. It was the collapse of the South Vietnamese Army in its battles against traditional North Vietnamese forces, rather than Viet Cong guerilla tactics, that ultimately joined the split nation into one. In fact, a *New York Times* correspondent—Fox Butterfield—on a recent visit to our campus stunned an informal Q-and-A gathering with the thesis that the U.S. forces had won the war, only to have the victory slip away when the South Vietnamese took over the full burden. So much for certainty about what happened at home or in Southeast Asia.

Klein's book is a valuable addition to the rather short list of books offering serious reflection on the press and Vietnam (and then only in several of its eleven chapters). Much is left to be done. My problem is, the wars keep piling up. Before we can adequately research one, there is another on the tube and front pages.

. . . *Wallace B. Eberhard*
University of Georgia

●

THE SELLING OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION: A HISTORY OF NEWS COVERAGE.
By John K. Alexander.
• Madison House
• 1990, 240 pp.
• $27.95, Cloth

IN *THE SELLING of the Constitutional Convention,* historian John Alexander reviews the materials published concerning the convention prior to the completion of its work in September 1787. During this period, the press was strongly pro-convention, printing scores of letters and essays to convince readers to accept whatever results the meeting produced. Little appeared that questioned the need for the convention. As a result, the media played an important role in "the selling of the Constitutional Convention" to the American public.

Alexander studied the different materials published throughout the spring and summer of 1787 and the frequency with which they were reprinted. The number of reprints for any given item was used to gauge the popularity of ideas concerning the convention. Alexander concludes that pieces that questioned the necessity of the convention were unlikely to be widely disseminated.

Before the convention, most editors emphasized the sad state of affairs in the United States. They saw hope for the future in the upcoming meeting and urged Americans to support efforts to strengthen the national government. Little dissent appeared in the press. Even a legitimate news story, the Connecticut legislative debate over sending delegates, received little media coverage.

As the time for the convention approached, newspapers contained ever-growing praise for the delegates and their efforts to solve America's problems. Even the delegates' resolution to debate in secret produced few complaints from the press. The members of the convention, led by George Washington, knew what they were doing and no one should question their efforts.

On 13 June 1787, a story in the *Pennsylvania Herald* threatened the convention's reputation. The story reported "a very great diversity of opinion" among the delegates. Editors spent the next month denying that the convention was divided and working to underscore the unanimity of the membership. Lack of discord was important if the people were going to accept the work of the convention without question. Throughout the summer of 1787, pieces that challenged the existence of agreement among the delegates were denied and seldom reprinted.

On several occasions, editors failed to reprint newsworthy items in apparent attempts to downplay any negative discussions of the convention. A good example of this type of neglect (or suppression) appeared in the *Fairfield Gazette* on 25 July. This story, based on a Philadelphia letter, said the convention was seriously considering establishing a monarchy with George III's second son as king. This piece, which could have sparked debate and controversy, was reprinted only once. Based on this and other examples, Alexander concludes that "reprinting newsworthy material was, at best, a secondary consideration." (137)

As adjournment of the convention approached, the media expressed increasing concern about he outcome. Most "abandoned their avowed role as sources of news"(180) and worked to manage materials in order to promote acceptance of the convention's plan. Increasingly, the idea of a new government was encouraged. The last days of the meeting also witnessed more published opposition to the convention, writes Alexander, but such cries were lost in "the massive press effort to sell the convention."(196) He concludes that the media worked diligently to encourage public support for the convention, no matter what its outcome.

Alexander's book constitutes an important contribution to the study of the media's role in the adoption of the Constitution. The use of the term *news coverage* is somewhat questionable, for little material that Alexander considers

is truly "news." Because of the secrecy rule, little factual information came out of the meeting. Most of what appeared in the press constituted speculation and rhetoric, more akin to propaganda than news. This concern, however, is primarily one of semantics and does not detract from Alexander's careful research of the media coverage of the Constitutional Convention. This book deserves consideration by anyone interested in the role of the press in the formative years of the United States.

. . . *Carol Sue Humphrey*
Oklahoma Baptist University

●

GUIDE TO SOURCES IN AMERICAN JOURNALISM HISTORY.
Edited and compiled by Lucy Shelton Caswell.
• Greenwood
• 1989, 326 pp.
• $49.95, Cloth

THE AMERICAN Journalism Historians Association (AJHA) filled a sizeable gap in journalism history research literature when it initiated this provocative series of essays for graduage students and utilitarian bibliographical material for researchers. A brief review of the provocative will precede some short notes on the utilitarian.

In "The History of Historical Writing," William David Sloan, from whom one has come to expect thoughtful analysis, notes that early journalism historians either were professional journalists or journalism professors who often left a lot to be desired as historians. Their research methods were "fairly unsophisticated." Sloan also contends that current mass communication research tends to focus on the sociological and behavioral approaches with little attention paid to the historical mode. After some mild James Carey disciple bashing (for what Sloan describes as a misinterpretationof cultural history), Sloan strongly makes the case that mass communication historians must seek excellence in their products by turning to historical methodology. Unwittingly, Sloan provides an opeing to those few journalists who argue that journalism history should be taught in university departments of history. One does wish that Sloan would have been commissioned to write the next chapter that looks to future directions instead of ending with current practice. Sloan's serious attention to historical evidence can't be overemphasized.

The subsequent chapter by John Pauly does move to the future research agendas for journalism historians. Pauly, who views most communication theory as "abstruse irrelevance," suggests some approaches to research, looking at journalism as product and process. The essay should inspire some lively seminar discussion. Pauly warns that journalism historians should not think of themselves as writing the history of journalism, but of "following journalism . . . as one path into the history of public life." And so we are thrust into the arms of the history departments once again.

Of the utilitarian chapters, "Databases for Historical Research" by Kathleen A. Hansen and Jean Ward is most helpful to anyone new to electronic data bases. Maurine Beasley's work on oral history and the Ward and Hansen piece on bibliographies, also are mines of useful information. The "Guide to Archival and Manuscript Sources" is very good, but uneven in quality. For example, the reader still might not recognize the significance of Virginius Cornich Hall after reviewing the entry. However, to be fair, most repositories included in this section of the book provided basic identification of the journalists and/or newspapers. Some entries were surprisingly thin, such as the University of Missouri entry, which reported only one holding.

Finally, Michael Murray's history of AJHA may not interest all readers, but it nonetheless appears to be an accurate and timely history of the origins of an important organization. The editor might have helped future readers, however, by including a thumbnail academic sketch of the authors of each chapter since the

book's usefulness likely will extend beyond this generation of scholars. In short, the compilation is an excellent addition to a graduate seminar's source materials and a practical tool for journalism historians. Departments of history researchers also have discovered its value as more historians turn to journalism as a research resource.

. . . MaryAnn Yodelis Smith
University of Wisconsin

●

THE CULTURE OF THE PRESS IN THE EARLY REPUBLIC: CINCINNATI, 1793–1848
By John C. Nerone.
• Garland
• 1989, 310 pp.
• $62, Cloth

THIS BOOK SHOULD point journalism historians toward a gaping hole in their field's literature. While studies of individual newspapers and journalists abound, historians have failed to examine the importance of newspapers collectively—let alone all print media—in the life of a given community. Other historical subfields have been enriched by textured community studies, but our field, regrettably, has ceded local and regional history to those actuated by antiquarian interests.

John Nerone is certainly no antiquarian. His account of the print media in the Old Northwest's leading commercial and publishing center builds on the best recent work in the history of social life, culture, and politics. Nerone groups his chapters in three parts: the dynamics of newspaper publishing; the relation of the press to political culture; and the significance of specialized publications.

Despite Nerone's disclaimer that his two chapters on press history "are not of primary importance in this book"(21), journalism historians will find much of value here. He provides a good discussion of newspaper publishing —printing equipment, work relations, advertising practices, news gathering, circulation methods, readership, and so forth—all the more valuable because of its non-New York setting.

Covering all these topics in two chapters precludes an in-depth treatment, but Nerone nonetheless appreciates nuances. He explains how newspapers agreed to fix advertising rates in the early 1800s, for instance, and how terms for placing advertisements corresponded to means of distribution. By 1850, Cincinnati was producing 8.7 million periodical copies a year, making it the nation's fourth largest publishing center.

The chapters on political culture try to modify some conventional views of the antebellum press. Nerone is most successful in establishing that journalistic notions of impartiality long predated the commercial press.

In most respects, though, his Cincinnati evidence supports the prevailing historical picture: the Federalist-era party press functioning as an intellectual forum; a new brand of journalism, one consciously manipulating public opinion, emerging with the second party system in the 1820s; and the commercialization of urban life transforming information and opinions into marketable commodities.

The last third of the book implicitly challenges journalism historians to broaden their purview. Traditional discussions of the antebellum press have focused almost exclusively on political and commercial newspapers. Of course, recent articles have underscored the importance of specialized journals. Significantly, Nerone brings the two together. Chapters surveying foreign-language, religious, literary, scientific, reform and professional periodicals treat them as contributing to the city's information environment as significantly as the general press. Indeed, one of the most striking features of the book is its seventeen-page bibliography of "Pre-1848 Cincinnati Newspaper Periodicals"; eleven pages list specialized publications.

Only a few flaws mar this commendable study. Nerone gives political historians their due, but journalism historians—even sophisticated students of the partisan press—are slighted. To his credit,

Nerone notes the importance of daily papers' weekly editions in serving Cincinnati's hinterlands; but the significance of this and other aspects of urban-rural information exchange is left unexplored. Finally, the absence of an index will discourage use by casual readers seeking specific information.

The Culture of the Press in the Early Republic provides a rare look at all periodical media for a substantial period in one emerging urban center. More such books covering other communities and other times will be needed before we can launch generalizations—and test their limits—in striving to understand the importance of the printed word in people's lives.

. . . Richard B. Kielbowicz
University of Washington

●

FDR AND THE NEWS MEDIA.
By Betty Houchin Winfield.
• University of Illinois Press
• 1990, 264 pp.
• $34.95, Cloth

HISTORIANS HAVE written more about Franklin D. Roosevelt than any other twentieth-century U.S. president. This is not simply because he served longer than anyone else or was so popular. Among the principal reasons were his commanding presence and his guidance through two of the most traumatic periods in American history: the Depression and World War II. He was a powerful, complex, and interesting man.

Professor Winfield illuminates all of those traits in an impressive piece of scholarship that is the definitive study—and is likely to remain so for a long time—of Roosevelt's relationship with the press and his news management techniques. Graham J. White made the first book-length study of these subjects in *FDR and the Press* (University of Chicago Press, 1979). But his book merely skimmed the surface, both in the topics discussed and the number of sources consulted, as Winfield demonstrates over and over.

Early on, Winfield notes Frederick S. Siebert's proposition that freedom of expression shifts from being quite open to more closed when societal stress is present. She carries this a step further, and sets the tone of her entire study, by hypothesizing that Roosevelt's interaction with the press was not dictated simply by societal stress, but by "the type of social stress" that he faced. "There would be a more open communications system during an internal crisis," she writes, "whereas there would be a more autocratic, secretive communications system during an external crisis when there is an outside enemy."

Thus, the first two-thirds of Winfield's book, which looks at Roosevelt's presidency prior to the bombing at Pearl Harbor in December 1941, shows him to be a quite different man than he was afterwards. In this period, faced with an internal crisis (the Depression), he tried to make the reporters' jobs easier while subtly managing what they wrote. He met often with them and gave out more information than any president before or since. By continually following this pattern in his press conferences, which Winfield calls "the greatest regular show in Washington," he quickly became well liked by those correspondents who covered him daily at the White House—they even applauded him at the conclusion of his first press conference as president—and some of them were clearly co-opted by him. As a *Collier's* article noted colorfully and accurately in 1945, "Roosevelt and the press were united in holy newslock."

But once the U.S. was in the war, and the external crisis threatened the very life of the country, the press suddenly was confronted with a different president. Roosevelt was much less accessible and frequently gave out little information, which again was an attempt at managing the news. This new FDR frustrated reporters. They generally understood why he had changed, but nevertheless it left them somewhat disgruntled.

One of the strengths of Winfield's book is its readability. Anecdotes are scattered throughout, making it an excellent

classroom text that not only is guaranteed not to bore students but to give them a good feel of Roosevelt as a person. Another strength is the clearly laid-out chapter topics and the thorough index. Researchers will find subjects easy to find rather than having to hunt for them. Also commendable is the up-to-date selected bibliography, which will be a good place for anyone to begin who wants to conduct research on Roosevelt and the news media.

The only real criticism that can be made is that Winfield should have been a little more chronological at times in telling the story, particularly in the last third of the book. She has separate chapters on the Office of War Information and the Office of Censorship and then talks about World War II press relations. Thus, she is constantly moving back and forth in time and ends up writing too many times, "This event, as it was noted in Chapter 7, ..." She also has one chapter on public opinion polling that is interesting but should have been discarded. It does not fit into the scope of the book since most of it has nothing to do with the news media.

But chronology aside, the book is of immense value to anyone interested in Roosevelt and the press. It also is of value to presidents or those who would be president. As Winfield correctly states, "Franklin D. Roosevelt left a communications legacy for subsequent presidents." Unfortunately, none of the presidents who have followed him, with the possible exception of Kennedy, have demonstrated that they learned much from him on how to manage the press. She now provides a detailed blueprint for them.

. . . Patrick S. Washburn
Ohio University

●

SCREENS OF POWER: IDEOLOGY, DOMINATION, AND RESISTANCE IN INFORMATIONAL SOCIETY.
By Timothy W. Luke.
• University of Illinois Press
• 1989, 288 pp.
• $34.95, Cloth; $14.95, Paper

SCREENS OF POWER provides an excellent introduction to a semiotic reading of economic and political processes in today's image-dominated environment.

The first chapter, which critically introduces the work of Roland Barthes, Jean Baudrillard, Guy Debord, and others, is the strongest. Because it contextualizes complex ideas and makes them accessible, it would be good reading for upper-level undergraduates, or as a first pass for graduate students.

The common stand among these thinkers for Luke is a focus on the image, the spectacle, as both the dominant form of our experience of reality, and as a driving force in and of itself. It is through this theoretical lens that he describes several social processes, including the family, the U.S. electoral process, and the commoditization of culture. Using an extremely broad brush, Luke insists on doing it all himself, rarely drawing on related work by others who have been working similar veins for the past decade or so.

The analyses are also unicausal. His discussion of religious fundamentalism, for example, does not deal with the economic, racial, and drug-related causes of this phenomenon, nor does he relate Christian fundamentalism to its Moslem and Jewish counterparts in the United States and the rest of the world. As a semiotic reading of broadcasting evangelism in particular, it is, like the rest of the book, usually well-written, interesting, and insightful. But it is not a complete explanation of the phenomenon.

Two chapters take a more microscopic view, of D-Day replayed in 1984, and of Chernobyl. It is useful to have Luke's general ideas brought down to a more concrete level. The mystique (and trendiness) of semiotics gives way to the kind of analysis of image manipulation that has been familiar to public relations professionals for a century.

Here Luke begins to turn from an absorption with the superstructure, the image world alone, to the base. He provides great detail, for example, of the step-by-step decisions that

lead to the Chernobyl explosion. The relationship between a semiotic reading and the political, economic, and social forces that shape these concrete institutional structures is never discussed.

In the final chapters, aimed at encouraging political resistance, this gap becomes most evident. Focusing on a 1960s-derived vision of alternative media, Luke idealistically ignores the institutional and other constraints that make the practice of producing such media so familiar to the sociologists of journalism. Nor is the production of alternative texts linked conceptually to notions of effective political, social, or economic change.

Another facet of the same insistence on solely text-based explanations of complex phenomena emerges from Luke's focus on the image aspects of the "informational" society to the exclusion of the extremely powerful and ubiquitous non-image flows of electronic information. Though less sexy, it is these instantaneous and global flows of information—the infrastructure of the information society—that most scholars of the information age believe constitute its unique characteristics and most powerful effects. Making new forms of organization such as transnational corporations possible, transborder data flows facilitate centralization of automated decision-making procedures and harmonization of the global economy. Ultimately it is these that make the nation-state most vulnerable, though there is no doubt that the image flow generates acceptance of current conditions.

In future work, Luke may want to attend to the increasingly common argument that a joining of cultural and political economic approaches—attention to both base and superstructure—is necessary for adequate explanations of social processes.

. . . *Sandra Braman*
University of Illinois

●

WHEN TELEVISION WAS YOUNG: PRIMETIME CANADA 1952–1967.
By Paul Rutherford.
- University of Toronto Press
- 1990, 638 pp.
- $65, Cloth; $25.95, Paper

MISSED OPPORTUNITIES: THE STORY OF CANADA'S BROADCASTING POLICY.
By Marc Raboy.
- McGill-Queen's University Press
- 1990, 472 pp.
- $44.95, Cloth; $19.95, Paper

A RECENT ISSUE of *Communication Booknotes* listed nearly twenty new publications examining various aspects of Canadian mass media—all published in that country. Clearly, Canadian media scholars have begun to recognize the opportunities and need to examine important aspects of their media culture. Fortunately, they have, for the most part, staked out very different, mostly highly specialized areas for investigation. Two recent additions focusing on broadcast programming and broadcast policy respectively, contribute a great deal to that ever-growing body of literature with very different goals in mind—and disparate outcomes.

At the start of the book, *When Television Was Young*, Paul Rutherford, a former chairman of the history department at the University of Toronto, discusses the personal influence of television on his childhood development and outlines the agenda for his project —what he terms a "viewer's history" of the period 1952 to 1967, a decade and a half of black-and-white television that, he maintains, was quite different from the period of color and cable supplanting it. He begins by examining the career of the national television service, which valiantly attempted to provide made-in-Canada programming. In this first section he also charts the conflict as a villain emerges from south of the border. Hollywood's influence is felt in all but news and public affairs programming.

In the second part of the book, Rutherford treats the nostalgia for the so-called golden age of television—a period during which formula, convention, and eventually commerce came to dominate the production process. He looks at the nature of program-

ming and some of the reasons for change. In the third part, he looks at how individual groups and institutions responded to the arrival of television. The focus here is on television in Canada, not Canadian television, and Rutherford examines how two well-known University of Toronto predecessors—Harold Adams Innis and Marshall McLuhan, influenced the views of society concerning a media revolution, before concluding that it was really more of an adjustment than a revolution, as it is so often regarded.

Seven of Rutherford's twelve chapters offer a view of television content —mostly the home-grown variety—and focus on particular programs as representative of a genre in the chronological development of the medium. The author breaks these broadcasts down into components of meaning and provides two appendices to help explain the approach used in the study. Programming and program content are the key ingredients here, but, to his credit, Rutherford does not ignore other areas and issues such as scheduling, staffing, audience response, and government demands, although he makes every effort to provide background for more specialized studies of these areas. In summing up public response to the medium, he quotes CBC's director of programming, Fergus Mutrie: "Someone has said that the topics most talked about today are the atom bomb and television—the difference between the two being that we know how to use the atom bomb."(12)

At the start of the book Rutherford traces the development and growth of CBC-TV, focusing on policy decisions and the seven-year period beginning in 1953, when only a quarter of the Canadian population was served by Canadian television. Seven years later, 94 percent of the homes in Canada were within the range of local stations, and this spectacular growth created a managerial revolution, a true revolution, at CBC. Born of a more complex system, unionists challenged the outmoded, paternal system, and the public's scrutiny brought about by two royal commissions created widespread uncertainty and change. Constant reorganization, questions of political censorship, issues of control and numerous other problems plagued the system in the early years, and, of course, many questions went unresolved.

At the same time, programming and production considerations also occupy the attention of the author, and comparisons to Hollywood practices are numerous. In one section, for example, he lists those in front and behind the scenes who migrated from Canada to find fame and fortune while others remained behind to assume an almost second-class celebrity status. In examining television's traditional "golden age," Rutherford strives to determine the authenticity of the label, concluding that it is largely a myth rooted in nostalgia. The end of the CBC's network monopoly and the start of an independent Anglo network, CTV, is prelude to a very detailed and lengthy examination of programming in the second part of the book. That part contains analysis of informational programs, variety shows, quiz and sports programming, and opportunities for artistic and cultural expression.

The role of commercialism and the success born in adopting advertising is reflected in the concluding section, as well as the "strange paradox" that placed the production of television commercials in high regard as an art form among the Canadian public. Also discussed is background on the comparative development of the advertising industry and case studies of overt attempts to exploit Canadian nationalistic feeling. As one might expect, Rutherford also offers an analysis of how commercial advertising campaigns and techniques worked, plus a debate over effects, which is, of course, ongoing. Programming considerations, documentary efforts, and viewership patterns comprise the bulk of the rest of *When Television Was Young*.

Unlike the more personal, programming-oriented work of Rutherford, Marc Raboy's book, *Missed Opportunities*, examines public broadcast policy in

Canada and questions the wisdom of its development as a vehicle for national culture and identity. This book, which started out as a doctoral dissertation in communication at McGill University, begins in 1928, predating the Rutherford book. Raboy displays a distinct critical point of view and public policy orientation, and takes care to include perspectives rooted in Quebec —a point of view often seen as being at odds with Canadian national interests. To that end, *Missed Opportunities* is somewhat global in outlook, although its subject is more focused than that of Rutherford's book.

Raboy makes no claim to programming interests, emphasizing instead broad social, economic, political, and structural matters—the interface between broadcast media and the public. The author argues that television interests, for example, have been subordinated to political concerns, under the guise of the public interest. His only references to particular programs are in the context of political interference. The author offers Quebec as the center of attention for broadcast issues related to cultural unity amidst efforts to achieve diversity in programming.

Like Rutherford's book, Raboy's is organized by phases—in this case, seven different periods covering sixty years of broadcast history. First and foremost, Raboy is caught up with the question of management and organization. His first chapter demonstrates that the nationalistic origins of Canadian broadcasting were more the result of Canadian initiative than a response to America's expansion, as is sometimes argued. In the succeeding chapters, he laments the failure of the initial broadcasting act to create the national system envisioned by legislators and the public. He labels the subsequent seventeen years "administrative broadcasting," characterized as a hybrid of the British public service and American commercial models.

Raboy describes the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission of the early 1930s as an underfunded, understaffed, and poorly led bureaucracy—a high-profile embarrassment to the government. This is followed by postwar inquiries into Canadian cultural questions in which communication policy took center stage. The result was that the public sector remained the focus of Canadian broadcasting while the need for two systems—one publicly funded, non-commercial, and nationally based, the other a wholly commercial, free-enterprise endeavor—came to be recognized. Raboy provides a very detailed accounting of all of the major elements of Canadian broadcast policy, such as the Aird, Massey, and Fowler commissions. These and much less heralded efforts to influence policy and the private views of public policy makers are explored, making this a most comprehensive and interesting work in spite of its negative tone related to the protracted public versus private ownership debate.

The sociocultural role of broadcasting in Canada fluctuated with legislative reforms, and various attempts at commercialization resulted in restructuring in the interest of the private sector, with Canadian nationalism playing a close second priority in Raboy's accounting. Although he has a distinct point of view and paints a very frustrating, unhappy picture of how government bureaucracy and provincialism stifled the development of Canadian broadcasting, it is nonetheless of great value to those interested in media history.

In summary, these are two very different types of books. Although the subject matter, Canadian broadcasting, is the same, the direction and orientation differ greatly. But both are, given their distinct perspectives, comprehensive and interesting works utilizing a variety of sources and taking into account geographical, nationalistic, social, and political points of view. Because both authors interpret the issues and individuals of Canadian broadcasting in some depth, we can expect that these works will be mined for years to come by researchers prospecting for reasons why broadcasting

in Canada evolved as it did, both in front of and behind the microphone and camera.

. . . Michael D. Murray
Univ. of Missouri-St. Louis

●

SOB SISTER JOURNALISM.
By Phyllis L. Abramson.
• Greenwood
• 1990, 144 pp.
• $37.95, Cloth

25 JUNE 1906. Phyllis Leslie Abramson cites this date repeatedly as both a unifying device and as an anchor for the multiple narratives in *Sob Sister Journalism.*

On this date in New York City, three prominent figures arrived at the Madison Square Garden Roof Top Theatre. It was a warm evening when Stanford White, a well-known architect and womanizer; Harry K. Thaw, son of an influential family; and Evelyn Nesbit, Thaw's wife, attended a musical.

Thaw chatted with acquaintances from table to table throughout the performance. During the finale, he pulled a revolver from under his overcoat, aimed at White's face, and fired three times. He then held the pistol above his head to show he had finished firing and was immediately arrested, setting off one of the most scandalous murder trials of the century.

Abramson weaves together three major narratives and numerous individual ones with energy and skill. Intertwined are the larger themes of American culture and economic development during the late 1800s and early 1900s, the lives of four celebrity women journalists, and the escapades of three tragic people involved in a notorious murder with complex motives.

What emerges in *Sob Sister Journalism* is the sense that nothing is accidental, that all human events are bound inextricably. As Robert Penn Warren writes in *All the King's Men,* "the world is like an enormous spider web and if you touch it, however lightly, at any point, the vibration ripples to the remotest perimeter." The interwoven lives of Thaw, White, and Nesbit and the careers of four women journalists converge at a time when the nation itself is demanding excitement and entertainment from the newspapers of the day.

In addition to the individual lives Abramson charts, she also reveals in detail the national and international economic and political climate of the period, including the Progressive Era; the presidencies of William McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt, and Woodrow Wilson; women's suffrage; Prohibition; muckraking; anti-trust legislation; a move to cities; long work weeks and poor wages; the rise of the International Workers of the World (the "Wobblies"); the shift from farming to business; the more than one million immigrants who flooded into America during the first six years of the twentieth century; and the activities of social reformers like Charlotte Perkins Gilman, who demanded fundamental changes in what Abramson calls the "economic specialization of the sexes."(16)

Into this maelstrom, Abramson stirs the changing profession of journalism itself. She writes that "yellow journalism gave readers a glittering show featuring articles on crime, sex, disasters, and wars. Everything seemed to be sensationalized in pictures, type, and innuendo. The newspaper became a medium of escape entertainment."(3) Abramson lists five characteristics of yellow journalism: scare headlines, a lavish use of pictures, a tendency toward fraud (such as faked interviews), the Sunday supplement, and sympathy with society's downtrodden.

Abramson then adds the individual narratives of the "sob sisters" themselves. Named by Irwin Cobb, a reporter for the *New York Evening World,* the four women were known for their "sentimental reportage"(61), as Abramson calls it. The women included Elizabeth Meriwether Gilmer (pseudonym "Dorothy Dix"), a columnist and reporter for the *New York Journal* and regular writer for *Good Housekeeping* and *Cosmopolitan;* Winifred Black (pseudonym "Annie

Laurie"), a feature writer for William Randolph Hearst at the *San Francisco Examiner;* Nixola Greeley-Smith (granddaughter of the editor Horace Greeley), a regular writer for the Sunday magazine section of Joseph Pultizer's *New York World;* and Ada Patterson, a writer for the *New York American.*

The four women became newsworthy themselves, as they covered a trail filled with wealthy celebrities, sex, conspiracy, physical abuse, and allegations of mental illness. "Prominently seated at a special table in front of the court room"(60), the four reporters commiserated with the despairing husband on trial for first-degree murder, criticized the womanizer he was charged with killing, and made readers weep for the twenty-two-year-old bride, who had more than a few secrets to hide.

Through the mysterious twists and turns of the narratives, Abramson never loses track of the new genre she is tracing. Between 1892 and 1914 the number of daily newspapers in America increased from 1,650 to 2,250, writes Abramson, citing statistics from Frank Mott's *American Journalism.*(107) Newspapers, she states, were now big business: "What fertile ground," Abramson writes, "was laid for this new kind of journalism, which had its origin telling, in a heartrending and emotional fashion, the trials and tribulations of a young woman who, in order to avoid a life of poverty and oblivion, became involved even sexually with a member of the upper class, married another wealthy person, and then became an innocent bystander to the murder of one of them."(105)

When Thaw, White, and Nesbit came together in the "design of darkness" of Robert Frost's poem, American readers demanded every detail of the murder and the subsequent courtroom drama. Through an understanding of the American psyche during this period, Abramson traces the popularity of "sob sister" journalism from the Thaw trial to advice and gossip columns to movie scripts to television soap operas.

In doing so, she creates a cultural and historical study spiced with biography and fueled with mystery.

. . . *Jan Whitt*
University of Colorado

●

A PLACE IN THE NEWS: FROM THE WOMEN'S PAGES TO THE FRONT PAGES.
By Kay Mills.
• Columbia University Press
• 1990, 384 pp.
• $39.50, Cloth; $16.50, Paper

THIS WORK IS a reprint of a 1988 book, although the author has added a new preface in which she charges that the newspaper industry has failed to pay attention to "hiring, promoting and retaining women on their staffs, not to mention listening to their ideas on news coverage." As a result, she asserts, readership is down, having dropped from 61 to 45 percent of women surveyed from 1982 to 1987. This book tells why. It chronicles the story of a male-dominated industry that subjected its women employes to a host of what Mills calls "everyday indignities," brief anecdotes of discrimination that follow eighteen of the nineteen chapters. They pointedly illustrate what women have had to put up with in terms of unequal pay, assignments, and working conditions. At the root of the problem has been an industry refusal to respect women—as news sources, readers, and professionals, according to Mills's evidence. For example, consider one of the "indignities" cited. When a young feature writer for the *Charlotte Observer* proposed a story about the motivations of business interests opposed to the ERA, an editor told her that he might consider the suggestion if you "take off all your clothes and then give me the story idea."

As the subtitle indicates, most of the book deals with newsroom developments of the past thirty years in which women's pages have been transformed into lifestyle sections and women journalists—once confined mainly to women's sections—have moved into reporting and editing jobs formerly

closed to them. The changes have not been accomplished easily. Mills, an editorial writer for the *Los Angeles Times*, traveled across the country to gather first-hand accounts of the struggles undergone by women journalists who pushed for equality with their male counterparts. Here are reports on the efforts to desegregate press clubs, bring lawsuits against media corporations for failing to comply with federal civil rights legislation, and encourage women to join caucuses to fight discrimination.

The book is replete with names and personal experiences, so many that journalism students, whom Mills considers one of her target audiences, may be overwhelmed by detail. One might wish for more analysis. For instance, why has the newspaper industry been slower than other industries to recognize the potential of women as managers—a contention Mills makes but never really explains. One can infer that the answer probably lies in the relationship between news, as traditionally defined, and the political system of a capitalist, consumer-oriented economy, but these connections are not addressed in the book.

It seems unfair, however, to quibble over what is not in the book when so much is there—a story not really presented in any other single work of the efforts made by women to upgrade their role in a powerful industry in line with changing social and economic conditions. "Real people" populate its pages —people like Dorothy Gilliam, the first African-American woman to work for the *Washington Post*, who had to stay in a funeral home while on assignment in the segregated South because hotels would not accommodate her; Marvel Cooke, an African-American journalist who faced discrimination from male journalists of her own race and gained a job on the *Amsterdam News* only after an editor decided, "You could do the work, and I wouldn't have to hire a secretary because you can type"; and Betsy Wade Boylan, the first woman to be hired on the copy desk of the *New York Times*, who put her career on the line as the named plaintiff in a class-action sex-discrimination suit against the newspaper she loved because she and other women "wanted the paper to be better than it was in certain particular ways that we felt were important."

What Mills tells is a story of women striving to improve an industry, not only for themselves, but for other women—those who would come after them as well as the women newspapers are supposed to serve, their readers. She gives numerous examples of women reporters and editors fighting for coverage of issues especially important to women—abortion, health, child-care, education, political activism. The extent to which they have not succeeded in transforming newspapers shows the power of the forces arrayed against them. Columbia University Press should be congratulated for reprinting this book, after the original publisher went out of business. It is a book that ought to be read by all women interested in newspaper careers as well as those who wonder why newspapers fail to appeal to today's readers.

. . . Maurine Beasley
University of Maryland

●

THE SUPREME COURT AND THE MASS MEDIA: SELECTED CASES, SUMMARIES, AND ANALYSIS.
By Douglas S. Campbell.
• Praeger
• 1990, 256 pp.
• $45, Cloth; $16.95, Paper

FACULTY TEACHING communication law commonly assign students to write case "briefs," which entail concise analyses of court cases. Douglas Campbell, chair of the English, journalism, and philosophy department at Lock Haven University, demonstrates his mastery of the art of "briefing" in this book.

Campbell's book consists of three- to nine-page summaries of each of twenty-eight libel cases, five privacy cases and eleven general First Amendment cases decided between 1918 and 1990 by the U.S.

Supreme Court. Each case is organized by full citation information, background, circumstances, summary of the court, case analysis, ruling, and significance. In addition to the opinion of the court, the case analyses include an accounting of each justice's vote and separate opinions page citations to the original opinions, and extended direct quotations from the original opinions. A selected bibiography and ample index are provided.

Campbell writes well and thoroughly understands his subject. Some of the "summaries" approach the length of the original court opinions, but a student would learn more about a case from Campbell's book than from the actual opinion because (1) he makes opinions that are cloyed with "legalese" readable, translating what can be a foreign language for many undergraduates, and (2) he provides the historical perspective for each case obviously unknown even to the justices who wrote or joined the opinions.

Some communication law teachers prefer to assign opinions in their original form so that students can learn what original legal materials are like and how law school graduates communicate with one another. Some judicial opinions approach masterpieces of literature. In his preface Campbell curiously argues that students of any subject should read the original materials for a full understanding of them, rather than a scholar's interpretations, but his book, in effect, encourages students to skip the original cases.

However useful the book's summaries, the purposes to which to put the book are less clear. The book cannot act as a principal textbook because of its limited range of topics and its discrete treatment of individual cases. A publisher's blurb suggests the book as a "reference for [students in] courses in media law," but the book would be an expensive supplementary text to most of the major media law texts in that glutted market. Teachers and researchers in media law may find it useful for occasional references; journalism librarians should order a copy for their shelves.

The most severe limitation of the book is the reach of its topics within communication law. Too many libel cases are covered, and the Court's handful of privacy cases, which are not as controlling as local common law, is covered. One could also argue with the choice of many of the First Amendment cases. Left unaddressed are decisions in such fundamental communication law areas as journalistic privilege, fair trial/free press, obscenity, electronic media, news gathering, and corporate and commercial speech.

The book contributes nothing original to our knowledge about communication law, but it does provide an additional and alternative secondary approach to the published analyses of important cases in the field.

. . . Thomas Schwartz
Ohio State University

●

FROM HANOI TO HOLLYWOOD: THE VIETNAM WAR IN AMERICAN FILM.
By Linda Dittmar and Gene Michaud.
• Rutgers University Press
• 1990, 400 pp.
• $45, Cloth; $14.95, Paper

FROM HANOI TO Hollywood is an anthology concerning the portrayal of the Vietnam War in American film. That portrayal, all the book's contributors say, falls painfully short of bringing anything beyond entertainment and polished-up icons from World War II films to the public. The collected essays identify the major shortcomings as the failure of films to raise questions about what got us into the war; an inability to discuss the long-time consequences of the war; a failure to show how the war affected the people of Vietnam; and a tendency to obscure the unresolved feelings Americans still harbor about the Vietnam War.

This anthology is a labor of love and genuine concern by the editors, Linda Dittmar and Gene Michaud. The project began as a conference on "The War Film: Contexts and Images" in 1988, an

event sponsored by the William Joiner Center for the Study of War and Social Consequence (whom the book's profits will directly benefit). The book uses a diverse group of twenty-two authors (scholars, veterans, filmmakers, students, and teachers), who contribute twenty essays in a "communal project" determined to shed new light on filmic representations and lessons that should have been drawn from the Vietnam War.

Once you wade through the editors' ponderously intellectual introduction, you will find an excellent selection of informative essays that do shed new light on what documentary as well as fiction filmmakers have done to rewrite the history of the Vietnam War.

The anthology is divided into four sections that move from general to more narrowly focused material. The "wide angle" overview of part 1 (subtitled "History in the Remaking") examines the general tendency of the film industry to rewrite history and avoid the more difficult questions raised by the war. This leads directly into a discussion of specific films in part 2 ("Close-Ups: Representation in Detail"). Part 3 ("Other Frames: Subtext and Difference") explores the representation of minorities, women, the disabled, and veterans. The last part of the anthology ("Other Forms: Documenting the Vietnam War") examines the strategies of both government and independent documentary films. What is clear in most of the essays is that no film or previous analysis is accepted at face value. Many authors engage in the useful business of "reading against the grain," which is an important basic tenet of this anthology.

As confessed by the editors, however, "We . . . note with considerable distress that the thinking gathered here will not reach more than a few of those for whom the issues it raises are most immediate: working class men and women whose material circumstances make them the most susceptible to the military's promises of opportunity for training, travel, and a bright future." So, while academics may be able to pass on this wisdom to a few of the sons and daughters of the "working class" in college, it is unfortunate that the majority of Americans will never be aware of these insights.

It is ironic that this anthology concerning filmmakers' inability to give us a true sense of the Vietnam War was published just as the general public was being swept up in the patriotic euphoria of a new "living room war" in the Persian Gulf. As this anthology details, the general public may not have learned any great lessons from Vietnam—but it did become abundantly clear during the war that the Pentagon brass did.

This book may not be important to the average person who goes to the movies for entertainment and never watches documentaries on television. But for cinema and social science teachers, researchers, and students it contains an important body of information that will help us unravel a few more threads of truth about the film history of the Vietnam War given to the general public.

Considerate editors have supplied the reader with two marvelous appendices. One is a detailed chronology, which carefully charts the relationship between major historical events and the release of American war films, both fiction and documentary, for the period 1954 through 1988. For cinema teachers with fading memories and students new to this field of study, this is a very useful tool. The other is a filmography of over four hundred American and foreign fiction and documentary films about the Vietnam War. The listings are accurate and complete, and the editors have designed a classification system that usefully identifies features salient to Vietnam. For instance, using the nine categories, a reader can identify films that contain images of the French War in Vietnam or films that purposefully identify one major character as a Vietnam veteran. If the essays are the price of admission to the film, then the appendices are like getting a tub of buttered popcorn and a large drink free.

The editors' and contributors' ideas may have all "hatched" in the same conference "nest," but their contributions are best measured by what they have added to the continuing debate on film as a reflection of our culture and the Vietnam War. As the editors of this anthology say, this is more "a work in progress than the final overview" of this important subject. We should all welcome this important addition to cinema studies.

. . . Peter Haggart
University of Idaho

●

FIFTIES TELEVISION: THE INDUSTRY AND ITS CRITICS.
By William Boddy.
• University of Illinois Press
• 1990, 304 pp.
• $29.95, Cloth; $14.95, Paper

RECENTLY THERE HAS been renewed interest in studying the origins of American radio and television. Yet the social choices and costs that underlie contemporary media systems too often remain implicit and unexamined. William Boddy's *Fifties Television* analyzes such choices during a critical period in television history —the years between its acclaimed "golden age" and the "vast wasteland" cited by Newton Minow.

Boddy views the development of American television, specifically the era of network hegemony that stretched from the mid-fifties to the mid-seventies, as neither natural nor inevitable. He argues that it was during the mid-fifties that the most basic questions about television—the formats and aesthetic forms of programs, the responsibility for program production, the structures of distribution and sponsorship—were subject to both aesthetic speculation and commercial conflict. By the end of the 1950s, Boddy concludes, a relatively stable set of commercial structures and prime-time program forms became entrenched within the television industry. These structures, he maintains, fixed the medium's position within the larger culture, and remained relatively unchallenged until cable and satellite developments in the 1970s.

Fifties Television is a wide-ranging history of the business of entertainment television. Boddy details the economic, political, and aesthetic forces that shaped television's development from the experiments of the 1920s and 1930s, through the regulatory battles of the 1940s, to the network programming battles of the 1950s.

There is a wealth of information in Boddy's well-written book. His introduction and extensive bibliography provide a valuable guide to scholarship and critical issues in television and film history and criticism. Particularly insightful are Boddy's considerations of television industry developments in relation to long-term changes within pre-existing media industries. For example, he contrasts early discussions over the application of and economic support for television, which he views as narrow and muted, with the more wide-ranging debates over the social uses of radio during the 1920s. He describes the mutual interests and collaboration that existed between the motion picture and television industries even in television's early years.

While this book does a superb job of focusing on the development of network hegemony in television entertainment practices, it still isolates the media from the larger social, political, and cultural milieu. Boddy's book creates a significant base of evidence for now broadening the scope of study, to address issues of gender, race, class, and the exclusion or inclusion of non-mainstream individuals, groups, and interests, and to consider the media's privileging of particular social and cultural systems.

I highly recommend Boddy's work to readers interested in intermedia relations as well as television history. It should be considered as supplementary reading to enrich class discussion in courses such as history of television, mass communications and society, and communications history.

. . . Elaine Berland
Webster University

●

PRINTED POISON: PAMPHLET PROPAGANDA, FACTION POLITICS, AND THE PUBLIC SPHERE IN EARLY SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY FRANCE.
By Jeffrey K. Sawyer.
• University of California Press
• 1990, 224 pp.
• $29.95, Cloth

IN RECENT YEARS, historians have seen the development of a "public sphere" of open discussion among private citizens as one of the processes that led to the French Revolution of 1789. News publications played a central role in the development of this public sphere, and many of these recent studies have dealt with the journalism of the Enlightenment era. But Jeffrey Sawyer, in his case study of French political pamphleteering from 1614 to 1617, is one of the first to apply the public-sphere concept to French history almost two centuries before 1789.

Sawyer shows that printed propaganda was an important tool in the struggle between the Regent, Marie de Medicis, and a group of nobles for control of the Crown during the minority of Henry IV's son, Louis XIII. Both sides published numerous pamphlets, which often precipitated decisive shifts in the balance of power in contested cities. The young Cardinal Richelieu was on the losing side in this contest, and Sawyer argues that his bitter experience with the power of the printing press later led him to develop the system of censorship and government-inspired propaganda that became characteristic of French absolutism. Rather than seeing a linear development from government-controlled media to the emergence of the public sphere in the 1700s, Sawyer thus suggests a pendulum swing from openness around 1600 to effective control under Richelieu and Louis XIV, followed by a resurgence of public debate up to the Revolution.

Sawyer's argument is stimulating and, to some extent, convincing. He leaves no doubt that the period's pamphlet journalism had a significant effect on political events. But his short essay focusing on the relatively obscure pamphlet war of 1614–17 suffers from a certain lack of proportion. He is well aware that the episode he describes was sandwiched between the far more important pamphleteering wars of the Protestant Reformation in the late 1500s, studied in French scholar Denis Pallier's *Recherches sur l'imprimerie a Paris pendant la Lique, 1585–1594* (Genève: Droz, 1975), and the crisis of the Fronde in the late 1640s, the subject of several recent books. A convincing picture of the role of print journalism in early modern France would need to take those events into account.

Sawyer also blurs the difference between conditions in the early 1600s, when male literacy in France was less than 25 percent and when political pamphlets were virtually the only medium of printed political literature, and the late 1700s, when literacy rates had more than doubled and when pamphlets were part of a media mix that included periodicals and a much larger flow of books. Indeed, as French scholar Roger Chartier has argued in his *Cultural Origins of the French Revolution* (Duke University Press, 1991), the very nature of the reading had been transformed in the century between Richelieu and Rousseau. Sawyer's ambitious effort to make much of little thus leaves some major questions unanswered. But his short book should provoke some new thinking among the increasingly numerous students of pre-revolutionary politics and polemics, and it will be of interest to readers concerned with the pre-history of modern journalism.

... Jeremy D. Popkin
University of Kentucky

●

***NEWSDAY*, A CANDID HISTORY OF THE RESPECTABLE TABLOID.**
By Robert F. Keeler.
• Arbor House
• 1990, 790 pp.
• $24.95, Cloth

THE FOUNDING OF *Newsday*, which in fifty years has grown to become the eighth largest U.S. daily, is hard stuff to make

into legend. Rather than originating in a cause, it was started to give newspaper heiress Alicia Patterson something to do. Rather than emerging from a rags-to-riches struggle, the paper was bankrolled by her wealthy husband. There is no ramshackle Front Page-style first office; the paper started in a converted automobile showroom.

A converted automobile showroom—that may be the perfect metaphor for a newspaper located in the Long Island suburbs, just showing signs of growth in 1940. *Newsday* helped give that area an identity, becoming in effect the island's main shopping strip. It thrived by being able to answer a question plaguing metropolitan newspapers today: how to cover the suburbs.

To mark the first fifty years of successful publication, *Newsday* commissioned Robert Keeler, a well-regarded, energetic reporter, to write the paper's history. The result sometimes overwhelms in detail and in parts reads more like a list than a story. But Keeler was thorough, with more than nine hundred interviews, and honest. This is a story of how papers are really run. It is not always pretty.

Patterson was part of what is arguably America's most important newspaper dynasty. She was a descendant of Joseph Medill, who bought the *Chicago Tribune* in the 1850s, used it to make Abraham Lincoln president, and subsequently made the *Tribune* itself a national power. Her father, Joseph Patterson, founded the *New York Daily News* in 1919.

Alicia Patterson longed to please her father and expected someday to take over the *News*. (She did not, in part because she and her father quarreled over Franklin Roosevelt, but mostly because she was not a man.) Harry Guggenheim, her third husband, thought it would be good for her to learn the newspaper business first and bought a defunct Long Island paper for her. With a staff that combined youthful energy and occasional carelessness, with an underdog's hunger for talking on the establishment, with the drive to succeed that marks most good editors, Patterson made the newspaper a success.

What makes this book unusual among newspaper biographies is that Keeler has written not just about the publisher but also about the reporters and stories and about how personalities can shape a paper. These elements are usually overlooked by historians writing about newspapers, and certainly by other historians writing about newspapers, and certainly by other historians who use newspapers, without question, as sources.

Some examples: A managing editor who defeated a party boss who opposed the paper, and ordered stories that benefited his friends and property holdings. Reporters who got preference for houses at Levittown, which the paper supported. Patterson's long affair with Adlai Stevenson and its effect on the paper's policy. Guggenheim, running the paper after her death, overlooking Bill Moyer's liberalism to hire him as publisher and then selling the paper to the Chandler family of the *Los Angeles Times*, thinking that meant conservatism. Staff tensions between the main paper in Long Island and the New York *Newsday* edition, editors who treated reporters like serfs, haggles over who would get credit for Pulitzer Prizes, and complaints from minority reporters who feel undervalued.

Inevitably, as the paper grew and its ownership changed, the flavor of working there changed. The new *Newsday*, Keeler writes, "is an archetypical corporate newspaper where every day is a procession of meetings"—on stories, on graphics, on food in the cafeteria. But at a time when much attention is given to the death of American newspapers, down now to 1,611 from 1,772 in 1950, it is good to remember that birth and growth is possible.

. . . *Judith Serrin*
Columbia University

●

HISTORY AS IT HAPPENED: SELECTED ARTICLES FROM *MONTHLY REVIEW*, 1949–1989.
Compiled by Bobbye S. Ortiz.
• Monthly Review Press
• 1990, 320 pp.
• $26, Cloth; $12, Paper

MONTHLY REVIEW, THE journal that identifies itself as "An Independent Socialist Magazine," celebrated its fortieth anniversary in 1989 with a project of the kind that has become commonplace among magazines of all types observing anniversaries. It published an anthology. This four-decade-long collection contains, as compiler Bobbye Ortiz notes, "a range of materials, domestic and global, theoretical and reportorial from each period." That range encompasses an assortment of views on various topics relevant to most of the significant international and domestic issues of the past forty years. The thirty-six pieces, among them seven poems, were published between the beginning and end of the Cold War, and, all told, constitute a fairly comprehensive survey of recent history, interpreted from various leftist perspectives.

Ortiz, who was an associate editor for twenty years, provides in her foreword an informative, although limited, assessment of the collection and the magazine. She attributes the magazine's uniqueness to its independence from party discipline and its consistent "application of Marxist analysis," which includes viewing "current reality within meaningful historical perspective." Whether one accepts or rejects the particular slant that Marxist analysis may give to the examination of the various topics, the articles in general do illustrate the contribution historical perspective can make to understanding contemporary reality.

Wholly apart from such considerations, however, the reader can find value in the collection simply for the eloquence and historical significance of some of the pieces, including the article "Why Socialism?" by Albert Einstein, which led off the first issue of the magazine in May 1949; "Notes on Left Propaganda" (September 1950) by Leo Huberman, who was co-editor with Paul Sweezy until his death in 1968; Margaret Benston's "The Political Economy of Women's Liberation" (September 1969); and Eduardo Galeano's "Magic Death for a Magic Life" (January 1968), on the life and death of Che Guevara. One of the most eloquent pieces is "Reflections of Salvadoran Women" (June 1982), the official statement of the Association of Salvadoran Women, a group affiliated with the Democratic Revolutionary Front in El Salvador. The seven poems are placed effectively at relevant points, having a topical but not necessarily chronological relationship with the works they follow. For example, "Apolitical Intellectuals" by Otto Rene Castillo (June 1970) follows "Magic Death for a Magic Life." (Journalists may be disappointed that the book does not include A. Kent MacDougall's "Boring from within the Bourgeois Press," which was published in two parts, November and December 1988, and was followed by "Boring within the Bourgeois Press: A Postscript," January 1990.)

The merits of this collection are many, but it also has its defects. Numerous typographical errors and other editing flaws detract from its overall quality. Footnotes are included in some articles but omitted, without explanation, in others. One article carries the same footnotes as a previous article. A number of discrepancies regarding the dates of publication of various articles exist between what is stated in the foreword and what is listed in the table of contents and in the information at the beginning of each article.

Aside from those matters, however, a more substantive defect, from a historian's point of view, is the failure of the volume to live up to what one might expect from an anthology of this type. Usually, this is the kind of project that makes available in one package with the articles a selection of materials, including details of the history of the publication and information about the writers and the articles, all of which can be useful to magazine

historians. For publications such as *Monthly Review* that are not in the mainstream of the magazine industry, an anthology may be especially useful because other sources may be hard to find or not available. (A recent model for this type of anthology is *"Yours for the Revolution": The Appeal to Reason, 1895–1922* (University of Nebraska Press, 1990), edited by John Graham. Ortiz offers a relatively meager amount of information on the history and operation of the magazine—little about its origins, circulation, editorial decision-making, for example. For a magazine historian, those are some of the most useful elements of an anthology of this type. But, then again, this book was not meant to be a history of the magazine. (Perhaps that will be done for the fiftieth anniversary.) Besides, in researching a magazine's history, nothing can substitute for the immersion of the researcher in the bound or microfilmed back issues.

Even with those caveats, this volume can be useful in several ways in courses in which the study of the alternative press or the examination of recent history are central elements. It provides a range of views from outside the media mainstream on various major issues of recent years, a panorama of recent history from a leftist perspective, and a survey of "independent" socialist thinking over the past forty years. It was that independence, Ortiz asserts, that enables *Monthly Review* to show "that it was possible to be critical of all that exists and still believe in the socialist ideal."

. . . Ron Marmarelli
Central Michigan University

●

WEAKNESS IS A CRIME: THE LIFE OF BERNARR MACFADDEN.
By Robert Ernst.
• Syracuse University Press
• 1991, 376 pp.
• $34.95, Cloth; $17.95, Paper

BORN OF POOR Ozark farmers in 1868, Bernarr Macfadden overcame the poor health of his childhood to make millions of dollars, mostly in magazine publishing, as the "the father of physical culture." During the 1930s his fortunes declined, and he died at 87 in 1955, alone in a Jersey City hospital, worth perhaps five thousand dollars. This biography, written by a professor of history emeritus at Adelphi University, tells the story of his rise and fall, with considerable attention to his adventures in the world of publishing.

Macfadden's life was one long series of adventures. He struck out on his own at 14, after his mother had sent him to work for relatives, developing an interest in physical culture at about the same time he obtained his first job in journalism, a brief stint as a printer's devil for an uncle who started a short-lived weekly paper in McCune, Kansas. Moving to St. Louis, he joined a gymnasium and attracted attention as a wrestler. A natural promoter, he styled himself a "kinistherapist" and used the money he earned wrestling to build a reputation as a teacher, writer, and lecturer on "Higher Physical Culture." He was not the first exponent of a healthier lifestyle to attract attention around the turn of the century, but he proved to be one of the most earnest—and colorful.

With pamphlets and a book already in print, he moved to New York City, changed his name from Bernard Adolphus Mcfadden to Bernarr Macfadden and, in 1899, produced a magazine, *Physical Culture*, soon adding to its cover the motto "Weakness is a Crime; don't be a Criminal." With its attacks on the medical establishment, its promotion of exercise and wholesome food, and its glorification of the healthy human body in photographs of scantily clad models, it found immediate popularity and became the cornerstone of a magazine empire whose circulation at its height reached thirty-five to forty million a year.

However, it was *True Story*, founded in 1919 to appeal to women, that became Macfadden's circulation leader, with more than two million readers, and spawned a host of imitators, among them Macfadden's own *True Experiences*, *True Romances*,

and *True Detective*. Other titles included *Brain Power*, *Model Airplane News*, and *The Dance*. At one time, Macfadden and chief editor Fulton Oursler persuaded Eleanor Roosevelt to edit a magazine to be called *Babies—Just Babies*, but she withdrew after only a few issues.

Macfadden also ventured into newspaper journalism. His *New York Evening Graphic*, sometimes referred to as the "*Porno-Graphic*," did battle with other sensational New York tabloids for eight years beginning in 1924 and attracted a reputation as the most-sued paper in American journalism before Macfadden decided to cut his losses and cease publication. In addition to his editorials and articles for the *Evening Graphic* and *Physical Culture*, Macfadden wrote or edited nearly 150 books and pamphlets. His *Encyclopedia of Physical Culture and Health*, with entries by many contributors, went into several editions, the latest in 1942. As journalist Alva Johnston observed, "only a business genius of the highest order could have so many profitable eccentricities and income paying follies."

This biography pays tribute to both the genius and the eccentricities, with sufficient detail in its 219 pages of text to provide readers with a feeling for Macfadden's place in mass media history. It contains extensive notes and a bibliography that show reliance on interviews, collections of papers, and manuscripts as well as published sources. Photographs of Macfadden, his publications, his daughters, and two of his four wives enhance the book.

. . . Sherilyn Cox Bennion
Humboldt State University

●

THE RADICAL WOMEN'S PRESS OF THE 1850S.
Edited by Ann Russo and Cheris Kramarae.
• Routledge, Chapman and Hall
• 1991, 368 pp.
• $35, Cloth

"MAN EATS AND drinks and sleeps, and so does woman. He runs and walks, laughs and cries, feels joy and sorrow, pleasure and pain, and so does woman. He loves, hates, is angry, sorry, impatient, tyrannical, and so is woman. He is religious, penitent, prayerful, dependent, and so is woman. He is courageous, bold, self-reliant, enduring, and so is woman. He is ambitious, loves glory, fame, power, and so does woman. He loves to think, reason, write, speak, debate, declaim, and so does woman. In fact, what has man ever done, that woman has not done also? What does he like that she does not like too? Are not the hopes and fears for time and eternity the same?"

This contemporary-sounding argument against gender inequality was written by Elizabeth Cady Stanton, a leading activist, philosopher, organizer, and writer of the nineteenth-century women's movement. It appeared in the May 1855 issue of the *Una*, one of the six feminist publications of the 1850s that were mined for this anthology.

The largest and best-known of the six was the *Lily*, begun by Amelia Bloomer in January 1849, six months after the first women's rights convention, in Seneca Falls, New York. Initially intended as a women's temperance forum, it eventually became a strong advocate of women's rights. Devoted to the improvement of women's lives, the *Lily* survived until 1858, and was the longest-lived of the publications. The others, introduced in the first chapter, were the *Genius of Liberty* (1851–53); *Pioneer and Women's Advocate* (1852–53); *Una* (1853–55); *Woman's Advocate* (1855–58, 60); and *Sibyl* (1856–64).

The editors of this collection—Russo is instructor in women's studies at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and Kramarae is a professor of speech communication at the University of Illinois—have grouped the excerpts topically under ten headings, including "Restrictions on Women's Movement," "Domestic Tyranny," "Working into Poverty," "Men's Chivalry," and "All That." Each is introduced with a summary of the issue and the excerpts, along with a listing of "useful sources."

In the 1840s and 1850s a woman was told she could not preach from the pulpit or speak in temperance organizations governed by men; she could not study medicine in men's schools or hospitals; she could not vote. If she was married, she could not control her own earnings or obtain guardianship of her children. Despite these restrictions, women were actively engaged in social and political life, as these writings by, for, and about women effectively illustrate.

While not all women were completely critical of marriage, family, and women's "duties," most women's rights advocates questioned the different socialization of women and men. Women sharply criticized their near exclusion from higher education; educated women were continually accused of being unsexed and masculine. Women's rights advocates criticized sex segregation in the workforce, and the low wages women received in prescribed occupations such as sewing, which proved a major source of income as well as of poverty for many women in the nineteenth century. Women writers challenged the paternalistic view that dependence on men was in women's best interest, and argued that women needed real social and public protection *from men* in the forms of personal, social, and economic independence.

A Columbus, Georgia, contributor to the *Una*, commenting in 1853 on the limited and ill-paid professions open to women, wistfully wished she had been born "a hundred years hence, when man will not monopolize every line of business!"

Not surprisingly, the articles and letters illustrate the ongoing controversy over whether economic opportunity and equality were more important than the vote. Elizabeth Cady Stanton argued against the tyranny of taxation without representation with all the ardor of a Samuel Adams, and some women went so far as to refuse to pay taxes—and paid heavily for their defiance.

At first glance the dress reform issue seems a frivolous one—to those who have never had to lace stays so tight that breath and motion were painful and don half a dozen petticoats and a heavy skirt so long it literally swept the ground. Despite criticism, many women adopted a Turkish pantaloon and a loose, full-skirted dress falling slightly below the knee, referred to as the "reform dress" and derisively labelled "Bloomers" by the mainstream press.

The book's appendix provides brief biographical sketches of two dozen of the editors and contributors, followed by a selective calendar of events that begins in 1777 with Abigail Adams's "Remember the Ladies" letter to her husband John.

Those who research the history of women's rights issues and activism in the future will owe a large debt to Russo and Kramarae for this well-annotated, well-organized anthology of the nineteenth century voices of feminism. And for journalism historians it provides an introduction to some little-known radical women's publications that flowered briefly in a largely hostile climate.

. . . *Patricia Muller*
University of Wisconsin
La Crosse

●

WRETCHED EXCESS: SENSATIONALISM AND THE NEW YORK PRESS.
By John D. Stevens.
• Columbia University Press
• 1991, 216 pp.
• $35, Cloth

IT IS TEMPTING to run helter skelter away from yet another study of the New York City press, and particularly from one that rounds up the usual suspects of James Gordon Bennett, Joseph Pulitzer, and William Randolph Hearst. But John Stevens's book, *Wretched Excess: Sensationalism and the New York Press* shows that an intelligent and inventive re-examination of oft-told tales can add greatly to our understanding of the press. Certainly this book covers some well-trod ground, but it also examines new issues and concerns, and does all of this in an insightful way.

Stevens promises to examine sensational New York newspapers in three

pivotal eras—the 1830s, 1890s, and 1920s—to detail content and to see how those newspapers reflected their city and audience. A short chapter at the end covers contemporary sensationalism, focusing on supermarket tabloids, such as the *National Enquirer* and the *Weekly World News*.

Stevens lives up to his promises in superb fashion. He carefully analyzes and defines sensationalism, calling it a combination of topic (such as crime, trivialities, personalities) as well as method of presentation (a breezy, informal writing style). Newspapers in all three eras examined here provided teasing, luring headlines, although my favorite was from the 1920s Hall-Mills case: HALL TRAGEDY SHOWS JUDGEMENT AWAITS THOSE WHO SIN.

Stevens provides a good deal of detail on the sensational newspapers in each era, from the penny press of the 1830s to the screeching tabloids of the 1920s. He recounts many of the trivialities and crimes that the sensational newspapers exploited. As such, this book is a superb overview of sensational news stories of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Through all of this, the writing sparkles. Stevens is a consummate storyteller. The accounts of sensational trials (such as the Robinson-Jewett case in 1836, or the testimony of the Pig Woman in the Halls-Mills case in the 1920s) are simply *fun* to read, in part because of Stevens's delightful prose. But the book is delightful on an intellectual level, too. Stevens is obviously well-grounded in the history and the journalism of each era, and so his observations about metropolitan journalism and journalists are quite good. He breaks through many of the "great-men" myths of New York City editors and provides a shrewd and balanced assessment of their accomplishments. He notes that James Gordon Bennett did not invent some new form of journalism; rather his major claim to fame was his persistence in seeking a news story. And Stevens notes that history has been far kinder to Pulitzer than were his contemporaries. Historians, Stevens notes, take Pulitzer at his word, while his contemporaries were a bit more skeptical. "It is tempting to overstate the originality of Joseph Pulitzer's contribution to journalism," Stevens writes. "The truth is that he invented almost nothing but by adapting and demonstrating so many techniques he set new standards for the business."

In sum, this book is a highly intelligent and well-crafted analysis not just of sensationalism, but of major changes in American journalism across the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The author is a superb writer who presents an entertaining, highly intelligent, and insightful account.

. . . *Gerald J. Baldasty*
University of Washington

INDEX

VOLUME 8 (1991)

ARTICLES

BRECHEEN-KIRKTON, Kent. "Visual Silences," 27–34.

DICKERSON, Donna L. "From Suspension to Subvention: The Southern Press during Reconstruction, 1863–1870," 230–45.

LENTZ, Richard. "The Search for Strategic Silence," 10–26.

MATERA, Fran R. "Ellipsis and Eclipse As Indicators of Bias," 35–47.

SLOAN, Wm. David. "The *New England Courant:* Voice of Anglicanism," 108–141.

STARTT, James D. "H. W. Massingham, Radical Journalism, and the South African Racial Imperative, 1906–1910," 142–159.

TEEL, Leonard. "The African-American Press and the Campaign for a Federal Antilynching Law, 1933–34," 84–107.

WALTERS, Timothy and Lynne Masel. "The Conspiracy of Silence: Media Coverage of Syphilis, 1906–1941," 246–65.

YOUM, Kyo Ho. "Press Policy of the U.S. Military Government in Korea," 160–177.

INTERVIEW

MURRAY, Michael D. "The End of an Era at CBS" (interview with Bill Leonard), 48–61.

RESEARCH NOTES

BREWER, Fredric. "The First Question-Answer Newspaper Interview, Redux," 6–9.

GATES, Sharon Joyce, and Catherine C. Mitchell. "Adolph Ochs: Learning What's Fit to Print," 228–29.

ROSEN, Jay. "News and the Search for the Present," 4–6.

REVIEW ESSAYS

HAGOPIAN, Kevin Jack. "Film History's *Bildungsroman*," 266–73.

SCHWARTZ, Dona. "Photojournalism and the Historians," 62–67.

BOOKS REVIEWED

ABRAMSON, Phyllis L. *Sob Sister Journalism.* Rev. by Jan Whitt, 288–89.

ADAMS, Timothy Dow. *Telling Lies in Modern American Autobiography.* Rev. by Nancy Roberts, 179–80.

ALEXANDER, John K. *The Selling of the Constitutional Convention: A History of News Coverage.* Rev. by Carol Sue Humphrey, 280–81.

ARONSON, James. *The Press and the Cold War.* Rev. by William E. Huntzicker, 277–78.

BARNOUW, Erik, et al., ed. *International Encyclopedia of Communications.* Rev. by Frances Goins Wilhoit, 275–77.

BARNOUW, Erik. *Tube of Plenty: The Evolution of American Television.* Rev. by Maureen J. Nemecek, 207–8.

BARTON, Richard L. *Ties That Bind in Canadian/American Relations: Politics of News Discourse.* Rev. by Alf Pratte, 181–82.

BERLIN, Barry. *The American Trojan Horse: U.S. Television Confronts Canadian Economic and Cultural Nationalism.* Rev. by David R. Spencer, 208–9.

BERRY, Nicholas O. *Foreign Policy and the Press: An Analysis of the* New York Times' *Coverage of U.S. Foreign Policy.* Rev. byBruce Evensen, 221–23.

BODDY, William. *Fifties Television: The Industry and Its Critics.* Rev. by Elaine Berland, 293.

BOWSER, Eileen. *History*

of the American Cinema: Volume 2: The Transformation of Cinema, 1907–1915. Rev. by Kevin Jack Hagopian, 266–73.

CAMPBELL, Douglas S. *The Supreme Court and the Mass Media: Selected Cases, Summaries, and Analysis.* Rev. by Thomas Schwartz, 290–91.

CAMPBELL, Karlyn Kohrs, and Kathleen Hall Jamieson. *Deeds Done in Words: Presidential Rhetoric and the Genres of Governance.* Rev. by Rodger Streitmatter, 192–93.

CASWELL, Lucy Shelton, ed. *Guide to Sources in American Journalism History.* Rev. by MaryAnn Yodelis Smith, 281–82.

CAUDILL, Edward. *Darwinism and the Press: The Evolution of an Idea.* Rev. by Gerald J. Baldasty, 193–95.

COHN, Jan. *Creating America: George Horace Lorimer and the* Saturday Evening Post. Rev. by Patricia Bradley, 185–86.

CORYELL, Janet L. *Neither Heroine Nor Fool: Anna Ella Carroll of Maryland.* Rev. by Patricia Muller, 191–92.

CRAFTON, Donald. *Emile Cohl, Caricature and Film.* Rev. by Lucy Shelton Caswell, 188–89.

CROWLEY, David, and Paul Heyer. *Communication History: Technology, Culture, Society.* Rev. by Thomas Volek, 190–91.

CULBERT, DAVID. *Film and Propaganda in America: A Documentary History. Volume 2, World War II Part 1.* Rev. by Kevin Jack Hagopian, 266–73.

CULBERT, DAVID. *Film and Propaganda in America: A Documentary History. Volume 3, World War II Part 2.* Rev. by Kevin Jack Hagopian, 266–73.

CURRY, Jane Leftwich. *Poland's Journalists: Professionalism and Politics.* Rev. by Peter Przytula, 196–97.

CURTIS, James. *Mind's Eye, Mind's Truth: FSA Photography Reconsidered.* Rev. by Dona Schwartz, 62–67.

DAVIS, Harold E. *Henry Grady's New South: Atlanta, A Brave and Beautiful City.* Rev. by Elsie Hebert, 200–201.

DICKERSON, Donna Lee. *The Course of Tolerance: Freedom of the Press in Nineteenth-Century America.* Rev. by Jeffery A. Smith, 219–20.

DITTMAR, Linda, and Gene Michaud. *From Hanoi to Hollywood: The Vietnam War in American Film.* Rev. by Peter Haggart, 291–93.

ENTMAN, Robert M. *Democracy Without Citizens: Media and the Decay of American Politics.* Rev. by William McKeen, 184–85.

ERNST, Robert. *Weakness Is a Crime: The Life of Bernarr Macfadden.* Rev. by Sherilyn Cox Bennion, 297–98.

FEDLER, Fred. *Media Hoaxes.* Rev. by William Huntzicker, 186–87.

FOOTE, Joe S. *Television Access and Political Power.* Rev. by Dennie Hall, 199.

FULTON, Marianne, ed. *Eyes of Time: Photojournalism in America.* Rev. by Dona Schwartz, 62–67.

FUSSELL, Paul. *Wartime: Understanding and Behavior in the Second World War.* Rev. by Mary S. Mander, 77–79.

GRAHAM, Thomas. *Charles H. Jones: Journalist and Politician of the Gilded Age.* Rev. by David R. Spencer, 79–80.

GUIMOND, James. *American Photography and the American Dream.* Rev. by Dona Schwartz, 62–67.

GUNNING, Tom. *D. W. Griffith and the Origins of American Narrative Film: The Early Years at Biograph.* Rev. by Kevin Jack Hagopian, 266–73.

HARIMAN, Robert, ed. *Popular Trials: Rhetoric, Mass Media, and the Law.* Rev. by Richard Scheidenhelm, 199–200.

HART-DAVIS, Duff. *The House the Berrys Built.* Rev. by J. O. Baylen, 69–70.

HILMES, Michelle. *Hollywood and Broadcasting:*

From Radio to Cable. Rev. by Kevin Jack Hagopian, 182–83.

HUDSON, Heather. *Communications Satellites: Their Development and Impact*. Rev. by Sandra Haarsager, 74–75.

HUMPHREYS, Peter J. *Media and Media Policy in West Germany: The Press and Broadcasting Since 1945*. Rev. by Mitchell Stephens, 220–21.

HUTCHESON, John, Jr. *Leopold Maxse and the* National Review, *1893-1914*. Rev. by James D. Startt, 187–88.

KEELER, Robert F. Newsday, *A Candid History of the Respectable Tabloid*. Rev. by Judith Serrin, 294–95.

KLEIN, Michael, ed. *The Vietnam Era: Media and Popular Culture in the U.S. and Vietnam*. Rev. by Wallace B. Eberhard, 278–79.

KOCH, Tom. *The News as Myth: Fact and Context in Journalism*. Rev. by Sandra Braman, 206–7.

KOPPES, Clayton R., and Gregory D. Black. *Hollywood Goes to War: How Politics, Profits, and Propaganda Shaped World War II Movies*. Rev. by Carol Sue Humphrey, 195–96.

KOSZARSKI, Richard. *History of the American Cinema: Volume 3: An Evening's Entertainment: The Age of the Silent Feature Picture, 1915–1928*. Rev. by Kevin Jack Hagopian, 266–73.

KURTH, Peter. *American Cassandra: The Life of Dorothy Thompson*. Rev. by Louis Liebovich, 223–24.

LAFOLLETTE, Marcel C. *Making Science Our Own: Public Images of Science, 1910–1955*. Rev. by Jean E. Tucker, 217–18.

LINFIELD, Michael. *Freedom under Fire: U.S. Civil Liberties in Times of War*. Rev. by Margaret A. Blanchard, 71–72.

LIPSITZ, George. *Time Passages: Collective Memory and American Popular Culture*. Rev. by Steve Jones, 218–19.

LUKE, Timothy W. *Screens of Power: Ideology, Domination, and Resistance in Informational Society*. Rev. by Sandra Braman, 284–85.

MANCHESTER, William. *In Our Time: The World as Seen by Magnum Photographers*. Rev. by Dona Schwartz, 62–67.

MARKS, Patricia. *Bicycles, Bangs, and Bloomers: The New Woman in the Popular Press*. Rev. by Susan Henry, 214–15.

MARZOLF, Marion Tuttle. *Civilizing Voices: American Press Criticism, 1880-1950*. Rev. by Edwin Emery, 180–81.

MEDHURST, Martin J., et al. *Cold War Rhetoric: Strategy, Metaphor, and Ideology*. Rev. by William E. Huntzicker, 277–78.

MEYER, Karl E., ed. *Pundits, Poets, and Wits: An Omnibus of American Newspaper Columns*. Rev. by Jeanne Abbott, 67–68.

MILLS, Kay. *A Place in the News: From the Women's Pages to the Front Pages*. Rev. by Maurine Beasley, 289–90.

MIRALDI, Robert. *Muckraking and Objectivity: Journalism's Colliding Traditions*. Rev. by Perry Ashley, 205–6.

MUSSER, Charles. *History of the American Cinema: Volume 1: The Emergence of Cinema: The American Screen to 1907*. Rev. by Kevin Jack Hagopian, 266–73.

NERONE, John C. *The Culture of the Press in the Early Republic: Cincinnati, 1793–1848*. Rev. by Richard B. Kielbowicz, 282–83.

NOURIE, Alan and Barbara. *American Mass-Market Magazines*. Rev. by Vicki Hesterman, 75–77.

ORTIZ, Bobbye S., comp. *History As It Happened: Selected Articles from* Monthly Review, *1949–1989*. Rev. by Ron Marmarelli, 296–97.

RABOY, Marc. *Missed Opportunities: The Story of Canada's Broadcasting Policy*. Rev. by Michael D. Murray, 285–88.

RILEY, Sam G. *Dictionary of Literary Biography, Volume 91: American Magazine Journalists, 1900–1960. First Series.* Rev. by Marcia R. Prior-Miller, 209–10.

RUSSO, Ann, and Cheris Kramarae, eds. *The Radical Women's Press of the 1850s.* Rev. by Patricia Muller, 298–99

RUTHERFORD, Paul. *When Television Was Young: Primetime Canada 1952–67.* Rev. by Michael D. Murray, 285–88.

SAVAGE, William. *Comic Books and America, 1945–1954.* Rev. by Linda Adler Kassner, 189–90.

SAWYER, Jeffrey K. *Printed Poison: Pamphlet Propaganda, Faction Politics, and the Public Sphere in Early Seventeenth-Century France.* Rev. by Jeremy D. Popkin, 294.

SCAFELLA, Frank. *Hemingway: Essays of Reassessment.* Rev. by Paul Ashdown, 213–14.

SCHWARZLOSE, Richard A. *The Nation's Newsbrokers.Volume One, The Formative Years: From Pretelegraph to 1865. Volume Two, The Rush to Institution: From 1820 to 1920.* Rev. by Joseph P. McKerns, 178–79.

SCHWOCH, James. *The American Radio Industry and Its Latin American Activities, 1900–1939.* Rev. by Jana L. Hyde, 203–4.

SEITER, Ellen, Hans Borchers, Gabriele Kreutzner, and Eva-Maria Warth, eds. *Remote Control: Television, Audiences, and Cultural Power.* Rev. by Robert S. Fortner, 201–3.

SHIFFRIN, Steven H. *The First Amendment, Democracy, and Romance.* Rev. by Cathy Packer, 211–13.

SIMS, Norman, ed. *Literary Journalism in the Twentieth Century.* Rev. by Michael Robertson, 274–75.

SLOAN, Wm. David, ed. *Makers of the Media Mind: Journalism Educators and Their Ideas.* Rev. by Douglas Birkhead, 203.

SMITH, Carolyn. *Presidential Press Conferences: A Critical Approach.* Rev. by Douglas J. Kocher, 204–5.

SMITH, Harriet Elinor, and Richard Bucci, eds. Lin Salamo, assoc. ed. *Mark Twain's Letters, Volume 2: 1867–1868.* Rev. by Edd Applegate, 68–69.

SMITH, Jeffery A. *Franklin and Bache: Envisioning the Enlightened Republic.* Rev. by Karen K. List, 210–11.

SMOLLA, Rodney A. *Jerry Falwell v. Larry Flynt: The First Amendment on Trial.* Rev. by Douglas Campbell, 215–17.

SMOLLER, Frederic T. *The Six O'Clock Presidency: A Theory of Presidential Press Relations in the Age of Television.* Rev. by Joseph V. Trahan III, 183–84.

STEAD, Peter. *Film and the Working Class: The Feature Film in British and American Society.* Rev. by Richard Alan Nelson, 197–99.

STEVENS, John. *Wretched Excess: Sensationalism and the New York Press.* Rev. by Gerald J. Baldasty, 299–300.

TRACHTENBERG, Alan. *Reading American Photographs: Images as History, Mathew Brady to Walker Evans.* Rev. by Dona Schwartz, 62–67.

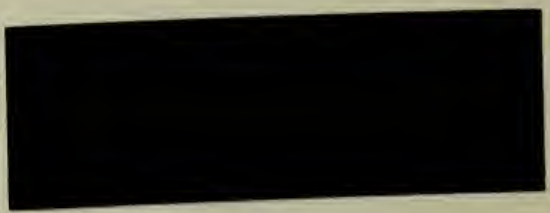
TYLEE, Claire M. *The Great War and Women's Consciousness: Images of Militarism and Womanhood in Women's Writing.* Rev. by Nancy Roberts, 224.

WHITE, William Allen. Edited by Sally Foreman Griffith. *The Autobiography of William Allen White.* Rev. by Rich Digby-Junger, 73–74.

WINFIELD, Betty Houchin. *FDR and the News Media.* Rev. by Patrick S. Washburn, 283–84.

WOOD, Richard. *Film and Propaganda in America: A Documentary History. Volume 1, World War I.* Rev. by Kevin Jack Hagopian, 266–73.

ZURIER, Rebecca. *Art for* The Masses*: A Radical Magazine and Its Graphics, 1911–1917.* Rev. by Lucy Shelton Caswell, 72–73.

UNIVERSITY OF TULSA
FACULTY OF COMMUNICATION
600 SOUTH COLLEGE
TULSA, OK 74104

NON-PROFIT ORGANIZATION
US POSTAGE PAID
UNIVERSITY OF TULSA
PERMIT NO. 661